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AN

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES AND WRITINGS

OF

James I. and Charles I.

AND OF

THE LIVES

OF

Oliver Cromwell and Charles II.

AFTER THE MANNER OF MR. BAYLE.

FROM

ORIGINAL WRITERS AND STATE-PAPERS.

BY WILLIAM HARRIS.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, A GENERAL INDEX, &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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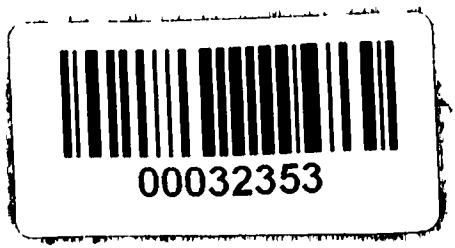

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OF

CHARLES I.

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHARLES STUART, second son of James I. king of Great Britain, by Ann of Denmark, was born at Dumfermling, in Scotland, November the 19th, 1600[a]. He was baptized on Tuesday December the 23d, in the royal chapel, by David Lindsay, bishop of Ross, with great solemnity, according to Mr. Carte[b]; though other writers give a different account[1].

[1] Though other writers give a different account.] Calderwood speaks of the birth of prince Charles, but mentions not a word about his baptism. 'He was born,

[a] Perinchief's Life of Charles I. prefixed to his works, p. 1. fol. Lond. 1687.
[b] Carte's History of England, vol. III. p. 679. fol. Lond. 1752.

At three years old he was committed to the care and government of Sir Robert Cary's lady; and in his fourth year he was brought to the English court, where he was made Knight of the Bath, and invested with

says he, upon the 19th of November, about eleven hours at night, the same day that Gowrie and his brother's carcasses were dismembered [a].' Spotswood observes, that 'his christening was hastened because of the weakness of the child, and that his death was much feared [b].' Thus also Perinchief, in the very page referred to in the text, tells us, 'that he was born in so much weakness, that his baptism was hastened, without the usual ceremonies wherewith such royal infants are admitted into the church.' Here are very different accounts, we see, of the baptism of this prince; but which is most worthy of belief must be left to the reader to determine. All I shall say is, that if the young prince had received the benefit of episcopal baptism, (a benefit never sufficiently to be valued, in the opinion of some very grave and learned writers [c], as it gives special privileges and advantages both here and hereafter) it is amazing that archbishop Spotswood and doctor Perinchief should either have been ignorant of it, or neglected to have mentioned it. But truth is frequently brought to light by time; and Mr. Carte, an hundred and fifty years after the ceremony was performed, tells us the name of the bishop, the solemnity used, and the place where it was used, when all others seem to have

[a] Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 446. fol. Edinb. 1680. [b] History of the Church of Scotland, p. 461. fol. Lond. 1668. [c] See Dodwell's Epistolary Discourse concerning the Mortality of Human Souls. 8vo. Lond. 1705.

the title of duke of York. The particulars of that solemnity, as they may be acceptable to some readers, I will give in the note[z].

known nothing about it! However, such as have opportunity may consult MS. in Offic. Leon reg; Armor. the authority referred to, in his margin, by Mr. Carte, for it[a].

[z] The particulars of that solemnity I will give in the note.] We are indebted to Sir Dudley Carleton for the following account, which was contained in a letter to Mr. Winwood, written from London, Jan. 1604.—'On Twelfth-day we had the creation of duke Charles, now duke of York: the interim was entertained with making knights of the Bath, which was three days work. They were eleven in number, besides the little

[a] This MS. so pompously quoted by Mr. Carte, is, I apprehend, the same piece which is printed in the Appendix to the Attempt towards the Character of the Royal Martyr King Charles I. Lond. 8vo. 1738, which is said to be copied from a MS. in the Lyon's Office, written by John Blinsele, Hay-herald, who assisted at the baptism: I say, I apprehend Carte's MS. and this to be one and the same thing, because it gives exactly the same account of the pompous baptism of Charles, by David Lindsay, bishop of Ross, with what Carte quotes from his MS. But from the printed account the MS. appears to be an arrant forgery, the work of some ignorant person, who knew not the times of which he was writing, and consequently his work must be mere invention: for he represents the chancellor Cassils as present at the solemnity, though there was no such chancellor then in being; and he tells us, that monsieur de Rohan, a nobleman of Brittany, and his brother, called monsieur de Soubise, were his Majesty's gossips; though the Scotch historians never mention their being in that kingdom. In short, the writer of the account given in that Appendix, (which yet is but a quotation from a book printed at London, 1716, by Mr. Henry Cantrel, called the Royal Martyr a true Christian) evidently appears to have had more zeal for the episcopal baptism of Charles than regard to truth, or even his own character. Authors that invent history, have so many circumstances to consider and provide for, to render their accounts consistent, that they need a far more extensive knowledge than generally falls to the share of such writers, to secure them from detection and contempt.

In the sixth year of his age he was committed to the tuition of Mr. Thomas Murray, a person well qualified for that office, though

duke, all of the king's choice. The solemnity of the creation was kept in the hall, where first the duke was brought in, accompanied with his knights; then carried out again, and brought back by earls in their robes of the Garter. My lord-admiral bare him, two others went as supporters, and six marched before with the ornaments. The patent was read by my lord of Cranborne, and drawn in most eloquent law Latin by Mr. Attorney; but so, that we have a duke of York in title, but not in substance. There was a public dinner in the great chamber, where there was one table for the duke and his earls assistants, another for his fellow-knights of the Bath. At night we had the queen's mask in the banquetting house, or rather her pagent. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by Moors. The indecorum was, that there was all fish and no water. At the further end was a great shell in form of a skallop, wherein were four seats. On the lowest sat the queen, with my lady Bedford; on the rest were placed the ladies Suffolk, Darby, Rich, Effingham, Ann Herbert, Susan Herbert, Elizabeth Howard, Walsingham, and Bevil. Their apparel was rich, but too light and curtezan-like for such great ones. Instead of vizards, their faces and arms, up to the elbows, were painted black, which disguise was sufficient; for they were hard to be known: but it became them nothing so well as their red and white; and you cannot imagine a more ugly sight, than a troop of lean-cheeked Moors. The Spanish and Venetian ambassadors were both pre-

a favourer[3] of presbytery[a]. Under this

sent, and sat by the king in state; at which monsieur Beaumont quarrels so extremely, that he saith the whole court is Spanish. But, by his favour, he should fall out with none but himself; for they were all indifferently invited to come as private men to a private sport; which he refusing, the Spanish ambassador willingly accepted, and being there, seeing no cause to the contrary, he put off Don Taxis, and took upon him *El Senor Embaxador*, wherein he outstrips our little *Monsieur*. He was privately at the first mask, and sat amongst his men disguised: at this he was taken out to dance, and footed it like a lusty old gallant with his countrywoman. He took out the queen, and forgot not to kiss her hand, though there was danger it would have left a mark on his lips. The night's work was concluded with a banquet in the great chamber, which was so furiously assaulted, that down went table and tresses before one bit was touched[b].' The reader perhaps is disposed to smile at the indecorum mentioned by Sir Dudley, and to censure the light and curtezan-like attire of the ladies; but the present age has little room to exult over them with respect to propriety or decency, as those who are acquainted with public places and public entertainments well know.

[3] Thomas Murray, a favourer of presbytery.] This is a fact not to be disputed. There is a letter in the Cabala from Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and lord-keeper to the duke of Buckingham, dated Feb. 23, 1621, concerning the promotion of this gentleman to the provostship of Eton. In this letter, Williams

[a] Perinchief's Life of King Charles, p. 2.

[b] Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State, vol. II. p. 43. folio. Lond. 1725.

tutor he was so diligent and studious, that

complains 'of the dispensation given him, who was a meer layman, to hold a place which was a living with cure of souls; intimates his suspicion of his being averse to our church-government; and declares, that he thinks it will be no disparagement to him, though he had been his highness's schoolmaster, to take orders.' And in his postscript he says, he 'has since seen Mr. Murray; finds him averse to the priesthood. If the king will dispense with him, my letter notwithstanding, adds he, I humbly beseech his Majesty to write a letter unto me, as a warrant to admit him only *ad curam & regimen collegii*, instead of the other word *ad curam animarum*. I schooled him soundly against puritanism, which he disavows, though somewhat faintly. I hope his highness and the king will second it[a].' However, Mr. Murray had the provostship; in which, on his death, he was succeeded by the learned Sir Henry Wooton, who, notwithstanding his having been on many embassies, entered into holy orders, agreeably to the statutes of the college[b].—It is very remarkable, I think, that some of the greatest foes of the puritans were educated among them! James was instructed by Buchanan[c]; Charles by Mr. Murray. The late earl of Oxford was trained up amongst the dissenters, as well

[a] Cabala, p. 239. fol. Lond. 1663. [b] See his Life prefixed to Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

[c] 'The puritanical education of Charles gave great concern to Dr. Andrews, bishop of Ely, who, on the king's being sick in 1618, bewailed the 'sad condition of the church, if God should at that time determine the days of the king; the prince being then only conversant with Scotchmen, which made up the greatest part of his family, and were ill-affected to the government and worship of the church of England.'—Perinchief's Life of Charles, p. 3. See also Burnet, vol. I. p. 24. Dutch edit. in 12mo. But his fears, we shall find, were without foundation.

he far advanced in learning; insomuch that his brother prince Henry taking notice of it, by way of jest, put the cap of archbishop Abbot (who was then with the prince and the duke, and other of the nobility, waiting in the privy-chamber for the king's coming out) on his head; adding if he was a good boy and minded his book, he would make him one day archbishop of Canterbury.

On the death of his brother, Nov. 9, 1612,

as his and their antagonist Bolingbroke: for though the writer of his life strenuously endeavours to show that he never was educated in dissenting principles [a], yet, I think, the contrary may unanswerably be proved from his own words [b]. Lord Wharton, in his speech on the schism-bill, Anno 1714, observed, 'That he could not but wonder, that the persons that had been educated in dissenting academies, which he could point at, and whose tutors he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them. That this would be but an indifferent return for the benefits the public had received from those schools which had bred those great men, who had made so glorious a peace, and treaties that execute themselves; who had obtained so

[a] Memoirs of the Life and Ministerial Conduct of Lord Bolingbroke, p. 22. 8vo. Lond. 1752.

[b] In lord Bolingbroke's letter to Mr. Pope, at the end of his letter to Sir William Wyndham, speaking of Chrysostom's homilies, he adds, 'which puts me in mind of a puritanical parson, (Dr. Manton) who, if I mistake not, for I have never looked into the folio since I was a boy, and condemned sometimes to read in it, made one hundred and nineteen sermons on the hundred and nineteenth psalm.' See Letter to Wyndham, p. 296. 8vo. Lond. 1753.

he succeeded him in the dukedom of Cornwall; and at the age of sixteen he was created prince of Wales, and had a court formed for him.

Though he had had a great aversion towards Villiers, duke of Buckingham, whose insolence was great, yet a friendship inviolable succeeded, contrary to the expectations of many. At his instigation, and in his company, this prince went into Spain, in order

great advantages for our commerce, and who had paid the public debts without farther charge to the nation: so that he could see no reason there was to suppress those academics, unless it were an apprehension that they might still produce greater geniuses, that should drown the merits and abilities of those great men [a].'—But, however, in justice to many great men educated among the puritans, it must be said that they were not ingrateful, though they continued not with them. Whichcot, Wilkins, and Tillotson, among the clergy; the earl of Wharton, the lord-chancellor King, among the laity, with several others, who from time to time have had seats in both houses, have shewed their esteem and friendship for them, by defending them against their adversaries, and bearing testimony to their innocency, loyalty, and learning.—Which behaviour, as it manifests more gratitude, so likewise does it proceed from truer patriotism than its opposite. For the puritans have been hated, reviled, and oppressed, chiefly on account of their firm attachment to civil liberty,

[a] Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. VI. p. 216. 8vo. Lond. 1741.

to conclude the match that had been so long negotiating with the Infanta[4]; where he behaved with great politeness, and was re-

and the constitution of their country. 'By the bills for preventing occasional conformity and the growth of schism, it was hoped that their [the dissenters] sting would be taken away,' says Bolingbroke. And again, says he, 'These bills were thought necessary for our party-interest[a].' What that party-interest was, is but too well known; as likewise what he and his coadjutors aimed at: and therefore it cannot but be esteemed an honour to any body of men to be ill treated by such as were ready to sacrifice their country to their own ambition and lust of power.

[4] At Buckingham's instigation, and in his company, he went into Spain, &c.] The negotiations for a match with the Infanta of Spain began about the year 1616. The Spaniards at first intended only to amuse king James, and hinder him from interfering in the affairs of Germany. At length they seem to have been sincere, and determined to conclude it. The duke of Buckingham then, out of 'envy to the earl of Bristol, (who had the sole management of the affair) one day insinuated to the prince the common misfortune of princes, that in so substantial a part of their happiness in this world as depended upon their marriage, themselves had never any part; but must receive only an account from others of the nature and humour, and beauty of the ladies they were to marry: and those reports seldom proceeded from persons totally uninterested, by reason of the parts they had acted towards such preparations. From hence he discoursed, how gallant and how brave a thing it would be for his high-

[a] Letter to Wyndham, p. 22.

ceived with much respect: though, through the means of his favourite, the match was broke off, and a quarrel ensued between the two nations.

ness to make a journey into Spain, and to fetch home his mistress; that it would put an end presently to all those formalities, which, (though all substantial matters were agreed upon already) according to the style of that court, and the slow progress in all things of ceremony, might yet retard the Infanta's voyage into England many months, all which would in a moment be removed by his highness's own presence; that it would be such an obligation to the Infanta herself, as she could never enough value or requite, and, being a respect rarely paid by any other prince, upon the like addresses, could proceed only from the high regard and reverence he had for her person; that in the great affair, that only remained undetermined, and was not entirely yielded to, though under a very friendly deliberation, which was the restoring the Palatinate, it was very probable that the king of Spain himself might chuse, in the instant, to gratify his personal interposition, which, in a treaty with an ambassador, might be drawn out in length, or attended with overtures of recompence by some new concessions, which would create new difficulties; however, that the mediation could not but be frankly undertaken by the Infanta herself, who would ambitiously make it her work, to pay a part of her great debt to the prince; and that he might, with her, and by her, present to his majesty the entire peace and restitution of his family, which by no other human means could be brought to pass.'

'These discourses made so deep an impression on the mind and spirit of the prince, (whose nature was

Some things being dropped by the duke in his narrative of the transactions in Spain, which were thought to reflect highly on the honour of his catholic majesty, by his am-

inclined to adventures) that he was transported with the thought of it, and most impatiently solicitous to bring it to pass[a].'

Thus having, with much difficulty, gained the king's consent, his highness, with Buckingham, set out with very few attendants, unknown to the court, and through France travelled into Spain incognito. His arrival being notified to that court, he was treated with all imaginable civility and respect, and had part of the royal palace fitted up for him.

Whilst in Spain, he shewed his gallantry; for understanding 'that the Infanta was used to go some mornings to the Casa da Campo, a summer-house of the king's on the other side of the river, to gather May-dew, he rose early, and, accompanied with one gentleman, went thither, and was let into the house and into the garden; but the Infanta was in the orchard, and there being a high partition-wall between, and the door double-bolted, the prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her; but she spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek, and ran back. The old marquis, that was then her guardian, came towards the prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any to her company; so the door was opened and he came out unther that wall over which he got in[b].' This adventure, so

[a] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 11. 8vo. Oxon. 1712.
[b] Howell's Letters, p. 119. 8vo. Lond. 1705.

bassadors, Buckingham's head was demanded by them; but he had the good fortune to be justified by the lords, and praised by the king, though as will appear in the note[a],

much in the taste of the Spaniards, with 'his watching an hour together in a close coach in the open street to see her as she went abroad, the bravery of his journey, and his discreet comportment, made them much taken with him, and say, that never princess was courted with more gallantry[b].' But the Infanta was not destined for Charles; for notwithstanding the favour with which he was treated by the catholic king, notwithstanding the preparations made for a marriage, the wishes of his father, and his own fond desire and affection, Buckingham (such is the power of a favourite!) found means to prevent it. For his pride and haughtiness were disagreeable to the Spaniards, proud as they themselves were: his carriage was scandalously indecent[c]; he disgusted the conde d'Olivares, and, in re-

[a] Note 4 towards the end. [b] Howel's Letters, p. 20, 21.

[c] In the Cabala there is a letter, *ab ignoto* to the king, highly reflecting on Buckingham; and, among other things, his majesty is requested to 'enquire of those that come out of Spain, whether the duke of Buckingham did not many things against the authority and reverence due to the most illustrious prince [Charles]? Whether he was not wont to be sitting whilst the prince stood, and was in presence, and also having his feet resting upon another seat, after an indecent manner? Whether, when the prince was uncovered, whilst the queen and infanta looked out at the windows, he uncovered his head or no? Whether he were not wont to come into the prince's chamber with his clothes half on, so that the doors could not be opened to them that came to visit the prince from the king of Spain, the door-keepers refusing to go in for modesty's sake? Whether he did not call the prince by ridiculous names? Whether he did not dishonour and profane the king's palace with base and contemptible women? Whether he did not divers obscene things, and used not immodest gesticulations, and wanton tricks with players, in the presence of the prince?" &c. &c. Cabala, p. 276.

he was greatly offended with him, and meditated his ruin. However, the Spanish ambassadors were not disheartened; but found means (by a writing privately conveyed into his hands, as well as by their agents secretly admitted into his presence) strongly to insinuate into the king, that he was besieged by the duke's servants, and

turn, was disgusted by him; and things were come to such an height between him and the Spanish ministers, that they scrupled not to profess, they would rather put the Infanta into a well headlong, than into his hands[a]. The knowledge of these things highly disgusted the English favourite, who ceased not to inspire the prince with sentiments different from those which occasioned his journey. Under pretence of the season's being far advanced, the uncertainty of the arrival of the dispensation from the pope, and the impatience of the people of England at his long absence, he determined to depart; though not without leaving a proxy behind him to finish the marriage. This being mentioned by the prince to the king of Spain, he consented to his departure; adding withal, 'That he would take it for a favour if he would deputè him to personate him; and ten days after the dispensation should come from Rome, the business should be done, and afterwards he might send for his wife when he pleased[b].' Soon after, the king and his two brothers accompanied his highness about twenty miles, and wonderful

[a] Cabala, p. 98. fol. Lond. 1663. Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 218. 8vo. Lond. 1672. Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. I. p. 263. fol. Lond. 1659. [b] Howel's Letters, p. 129.

was no more a free man; that he was to be confined to his country-house and pastimes, the prince having years and parts answerable to public government; that the duke had reconciled himself to all popular men, and sought to raise an opinion of his own greatness, and to make the king grow less: and that all looked towards the rising sun.

endearments and embraces passed between them. Prince Charles immediately went on board a royal fleet which attended for him; and after having been in great danger in the road at St. Andero, safely arrived in England, where he was received with the utmost joy and transport. 'To tell your lordship what joy is here for the prince's return,' (says Sir James Palmer, in a letter to Robert earl of Leycester, dated Roiston, Oct. 13, 1623,) 'no one man's expressions can inform you, nor can the preachers in their sermons do enough (though all strive to outdo one another) in that kind[a].' But though a proxy was left behind in the hands of Digby earl of Bristol, to amuse the Spanish court; yet orders were privately sent to him, upon no terms to make use of it, till further orders were received with relation to it. Soon after the prince's departure the dispensation from Rome arrived, and it was concluded the marriage would be accomplished. But the immediate restitution of the Palatinate was now demanded, though that was known to be impossible, (however by the Spaniards not held unjust) who professed 'the desponsorio's past, the Infanta on her knees should have been a suitor to the king to restore the Palati-

[a] Sidney's State-papers, vol. II. p. 357. fol. Lond. 1746.

Whereupon they advised the king, says Rushworth[a], to free himself from this captivity and imminent danger, and to cut off so ungrateful an affector of popularity and greatness; and so he should shew himself to be, as he was reputed, the oldest and wisest king in Europe. These, and many other things of a like nature, which were privately represented to his majesty by means of the

nate, making it thereby her act, and drawing the obligation wholly to her[b].' This breach of the intended marriage with Spain was highly acceptable to the English nation, who viewed it with horror; and therefore Buckingham was greatly applauded by all ranks of people, for bringing back the prince in safety. The popular favour now enabled him to bring about what he had meditated before his return: for in spite of James his master, and contrary to what was well known to those concerned in the transactions to be truth, he averred before the parliament, that the Spaniards never intended to bestow the Infanta on Charles, or get the Palatinate restored to his brother-in-law. To this Charles himself also gave his testimony, before the same august assembly. Whereupon the parliament advised the breaking off the treaties; promised his majesty assistance; and troops were immediately raised to recover the Palatinate. A rupture likewise with Spain ensued, to the great grief of his majesty: 'who, says lord Clarendon, when he was informed of what the duke had so confidently avowed, for which he had

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 144. [b] Id. vol. I. p. 112.

Spanish ambassadors, wrought so much on him, that he mused much in silence, and entertained the prince and duke with mystical broken speeches. The duke now began to be alarmed, as well as the prince; but by the advice of Dr. Williams, lord-keeper, (who had, with great dexterity found out the instruments of raising the king's fears and suspicions, and had also revealed [5]

not authority, or the least direction from him, and a great part whereof himself knew to be untrue, and that he had advised an utter breach of the treaty, and to enter on a war with Spain; he was infinitely offended, so that he wanted only a resolute and brisk counsellor to assist him in destroying the duke: and such a one he promised himself in the arrival of the earl of Bristol, whom he expected every day[a].' Bristol soon arrived, and as soon was committed; for Buckingham ruled father and son, nor was there a man could bear up against him. So vain a thing is it for ministers to rely on the favour or justice of those masters, who have meanness enough to submit to the rule of favourites, especially when destitute of sense, virtue and learning.

[5] Williams, with great dexterity, found out the instruments of raising the king's fears, &c.] Williams was devoted to the duke of Buckingham, though the duke was far enough from being pleased with him; and on this occasion he did him great service, as we learn by the following story. 'While the king was at Windsor with prince Charles, and Buckingham left

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 22.

them) he followed the king to Windsor, where he had gone without him; and kept

behind, the lord-keeper, (who spared for no cost to get intelligence of every hour's occurrences at court) having received some information, went to the duke at Wallingford-house, whom he found lying on a couch, and would not rise up nor speak, though twice or thrice moved thereunto by the lord-keeper; who protested to his grace, that he came there only to prevent more harm, and to bring him out of that sorrow into the king's favour: and besought the duke to make haste to Windsor, and shew himself to the king before supper were ended; to deport himself with all amicable address, and not stir from him day or night. For the danger was, that some would push on the king to break with the parliament, and, upon that dissolution, they hoped to see his grace in the Tower; and then God knows what would follow. The keeper adjured the duke to secresy, as to what he had told him, and to lose no time. And the duke parted with many thanks, and came to Windsor before he was expected, and waited on his majesty with a constant attendance. This happened on Saturday, and on Monday morning the prince came to the lord's house, and told the keeper privately, how well he was pleased that he had given the duke such faithful warning for his safety, desiring him farther, to explain the cause which had got the duke and himself the king's ill-will. The keeper said, that all he could gain to know was, that some in the Spanish ambassador's house had been preparing mischief, and four days since had infused it into the king; and that this he had discovered from Don Francisco Carondelet, who, being a scholar, and archdeacon of Cambray, took a liking to converse

so near him, that no one had an opportunity to press any thing to his disadvan-

with his lordship, who had discovered him to be a lover of our English beauties, and particularly of one in Mark-lane, a witty woman, and one who must be courted with news and occurrences. This woman the keeper had bribed to send him word of all that Carondelet had told her: and thus he came by his news, thinking it lawful (now the devil had made her a sinner) for him to make use of her sin. Yea, says the prince, do you deal in such ware? Faith, sir, said the keeper, I never saw her face.

"But the keeper being willing to search further into the matter, contrived how he might gain some intelligence from Carondelet himself, who was forbidden to come to his house for the space of a month, all communication between the Spaniards and the court being forbidden by his majesty. Yet he found out a way, by ordering a pursuivant at arms to seize a popish priest who was dear to Carondelet, whereby to bring him to break through the prohibition. And accordingly Carondelet sent for leave to wait on the keeper upon that occasion, and was admitted to come privately at eleven o'clock at night, when he interceded earnestly for the liberty of the priest: but was told by the keeper, that it would be too great a hazard to set a priest at liberty, who was a dead man in law, during the session of a parliament which was vigilant upon the breach of justice, especially in that point. My lord, says Francisco, let not this parliament trouble you; for I can tell you, if you have not heard of it, that it is upon expiration. And from this hint, the keeper proceeded to get out farther intelligence: to gratify which, he released the priest, with a charge

tage. In the mean time, the prince, having received proper instructions from Williams, waited on his father with the duke, and they were both received into their former favour, at least as to outward appearance.

The Spanish match being now entirely broken off, and a war with that nation determined, a match was proposed with France, and the lords Kensington (afterwards well known by the title of earl of

that he should presently depart beyond sea. The copy of the main paper, scratched in some places by Don Colonna's hand, (known to the lord-keeper) was not brought to him till four nights after. But all that had passed between him and Carondelet that night, he wrote down then, and gave on the morrow to the prince, desiring that he might not be discovered in this intelligence to the king, which the prince promised; and then went chearfully to Windsor, and shewed the papers (which were not written in the keeper's hand) to the duke, and both of them presently desired a private audience, and gave the papers to the king, who read them with great satisfaction; and told the prince and duke, that he was sorry that he had grieved them by a jealousy fomented by no better than traitors; and told them, that their innocency shone as bright as noon-day; and asked who it was that made this discovery. The prince stood mute, and the duke vowed he did not know. But the king guessed that it was the keeper, to which the prince assented. And God do him good for it, said the king: I need not tell you both what you owe to him for this service; and

Holland) and Carlisle were appointed to negotiate it.

In a short time, every thing was agreed on, and great rejoicings were made, both at Paris and London, on account of the conclusion of the marriage-treaty, which contained articles equally as favourable to the English catholics as that sworn to with Spain. But the death of James, which happened March 27, 1625, (not without

he hath done himself this right with me, that I discern his sufficiency more and more[a]."—"The delicacy of the keeper's wit", says a certain writer, "in unriddling this mystery, came not short of that of Cicero, in finding out the bottom of Catiline's conspiracy[b]." I will not at all detract from the wit and dexterity of Williams, in unravelling this affair to the prince and duke; (though how consistent this correspondence with a courtezan was with the character of a bishop and a lord-keeper, the reader will determine:) but I cannot let this piece of history pass without observing, 1. The obsequiousness of this right reverend and right honourable father in God, Williams, towards the duke of Buckingham; and how solicitous to curry favour with him, though remarkable for vile behaviour, both political and moral. Doubtless, he must have been very mindful of the duties of both his functions, who spared no cost to get intelligence of every hour's occurrences

[a] Bishop Hacket's Memoirs of the Life of Archbishop Williams abridged, p. 72, 73, 74. Lond. 8vo. 1715.

[b] Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. II. p. 117. Lond. 8vo. 1712.

causing [6] suspicions against Buckingham, and even prince Charles) prevented the con-

at court, and devoted his midnight hours to unravel political intrigues.

2. The strict connexion between the prince and Buckingham is from hence very apparent. As is, in the 3d place, The dissimulation of James, so very remarkable through his whole life. For though, on the sight of the papers presented, he affected to talk of the Spanish ambassadors as no better than traitors; of his being grieved for having suspected them, and of the clearness of their innocency; yet it is very probable, that in his heart he never forgave Buckingham, nor was wholly pleased with the prince, who adhered to him, and acted contrary to his express will and desire in the impeachment and sentence of the earl of Middlesex [a].

[6] The death of king James, which happened——not without causing suspicions against the duke of Buckingham, and even prince Charles, &c.] The grounds for suspecting that Buckingham poisoned king James, I have very particularly set forth in another place [b]. But the suspicions against Charles, his son, are now to be mentioned; the impartiality of history requires it. It is well known the house of commons, among other articles of impeachment against the duke of Buckingham in 1626, inserted one concerning the plaisters administered by him to king James, which, according to them, occasioned his death. The duke, in his defence, denied the charge, and protested his innocency: but the commons declared they were ready to prove it on him, unless prevented; which they

[a] See Clarendon, vol. I. p. 23, 24.

[b] See the preceding volume, near the conclusion.

summation of it; though soon afterwards (the duke of Buckingham being sent to con-

were, by a dissolution. Upon this a charge is framed against prince Charles, as if he was concerned in the fact, and therefore unwilling it should undergo a parliamentary examination. "Though king Charles was bound to prosecute king James's death, says Sir Edward Peyton, committed contrary to all the laws of God and nations; yet king Charles, to save the duke, dissolved the parliament; and never after had the truth tried, to clear himself from confederacy, or the duke from so heinous a scandal. Now let all the world judge of Charles's carriage, whether he was not guilty of conniving at so foul a sin[a]."—Lilly, in more moderate terms, delivers the censure on king Charles. "That king James was really and absolutely poisoned by a plaister, applied by Buckingham's mother unto king James's stomach, was evidently proved before a committee: but whether Buckingham himself, or king Charles, was guilty, either in the knowledge of, or application of the plaister, I could never learn. Many feared the king did know of it, and they gave this reason; because, when the parliament did order to question Buckingham for it, and had prepared their charge or articles to present against him in the house of lords, and to accuse him thereof, his majesty, contrary to all expectation, and as in affront to both houses, and in the upper house, when the articles came up, gave Buckingham his hand to kiss, carried him away, &c. This action lost him the present parliament's affections; even the most sober of his friends held him very much overseen, to deny a parliamentary justice in any matter whatsoever; but in matter

[a] The Divine Catastrophe of the Stuarts, p. 19. 8vo. Lond. 1731.

duct the queen, who had been espoused at Paris by the duke of Chevereux in the king's name) she landed at Dover, and was met there by his Majesty, who accompanied her to London, where they were received with great expressions of affection and rejoicing.

of poison, and the party poisoned being his father, in that to prohibit a due course, or a legal proceeding against the party suspected, it was to deny justice with a refractory hand[a]."—Milton, in severe terms, speaks of Charles on this account. "Quam similis Neroni fuerit Carolus, ostendam. Nero, inquis, matrem suam, ferro, necavit. Carolus & patrem, & regem veneno; nam, ut alia omittam indicia, qui ducem veneficii reum legibus eripuit, fieri non potuit quin ipse reus quoque fuerit[b]." i. e. "I will let you (speaking to Salmasius) see how like Charles was to Nero; Nero, you say, put to death his own mother; but Charles murthered both his prince and his father, by poison. For, to omit other evidences, he that would not suffer a duke that was accused of it, to come to his trial, must needs have been guilty of it himself."—How this conclusion of Milton and the others will stand, the reader must determine. For my own part, though it is evident that Charles acted very unwisely in screening Buckingham from a trial, and gave grounds for his adversaries to surmise that he was not unconscious of the horrid deed, I cannot load his memory with it, for the following reasons:

[a] Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles, p. 20. at the end of the History of his Life and Times, 12mo. Lond. 1721. [b] Milton's Works, vol. II. p. 330. 4to. Lond. 1753.

The name of this lady was Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. and sister to Lewis XIII. of France, said to be of an excellent air and beauty of countenance, of great vivacity, a lover of intrigues, and one who treated her husband with the utmost inso-

1. He never shewed, by any other part of his conduct, that he was capable of being a party in so wicked an action. Now where men's private characters are fair, there should be positive proof, ere they be pronounced guilty; which I think is wanting here.

2. The charge is brought by bitter and implacable enemies, and therefore may be somewhat aggravated.

3. In the remonstrance presented to the king, Dec. 1, 1641, which sets forth his evil conduct from the beginning, there is no hint given that he was deemed culpable in this matter; nor do I remember, among all the sharp papers which were published by the two houses against him, that he is once charged with it.

4. At his trial it was not objected to him, nor was he reproached with it by Cooke or Bradshaw.

5. When going to the scaffold, it being asked him, "Whether he were not consenting to his father's death," he replied, "Friend, if I had no other sin, (I speak it with reverence to God's majesty) I assure thee, I would never ask him pardon[a]."

These are the reasons for which I am for pronouncing Charles innocent in this matter, nor have I any great doubt about the reader's concurring in the justice of the sentence. However the public, as it has a right, must judge of this as well as other matters here laid

[a] Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 342. 8vo. Lond. 1702.

lence[7]. Her behaviour towards his majesty

before it, and its judgment will be regulated by facts and reasonings only.

[7] Henrietta Maria, a lady of excellent beauty, &c.] Mr. Waller is very lavish in praise of the beauty of Henrietta Maria, in his poem inscribed to her on seeing her picture. The following lines are a specimen of his panegyric.

> Your beauty more the fondest lover moves
> With admiration, than his private loves;
> With admiration! for a pitch so high
> (Saved sacred Charles his) never love durst fly.
> Heav'n, that preferr'd a sceptre to your hand,
> Favour'd our freedom more than your command:
> Beauty has crown'd you, and you must have been
> The whole world's mistress other than a queen.
> All had been rivals, and you might have spar'd
> Or kill'd, and tyranniz'd, without a guard.
> * * * * * * * * * *
> Such eyes as your's, on Jove himself have thrown
> As bright and fierce a light'ning as his own.

And in another poem by the same gentleman, addressed to her, there are these lines:

> Such a complexion, and so radiant eyes,
> Such lovely motion, and such sharp replies;
> Beyond our reach, and yet within our sight,
> What envious pow'r has plac'd this glorious light!

Whether Mr. Waller has taken too great a poetical liberty, will appear from the following description of this lady by lord Kensington, whilst negotiating the match, in a letter to prince Charles, dated Feb. 26, 1624. "Sir, if your intentions proceed this way, as by many reasons of state and wisdom, (there is cause now rather to press it, than slacken it) you will find a lady of as much loveliness and sweetness to deserve your affection, as any creature under heaven can do. And, Sir, by all her fashions since my being here, and

will best of all appear by the following in-

by what I hear from the ladies, it is most visible to me, her infinite value, and respect unto you. Sir, I say not this to betray your belief, but from a true observation, and knowledge of this to be so: I tell you this, and must somewhat more, in way of admiration of the person of madam; for the impressions I had of her were but ordinary, but the amazement extraordinary, to find her, as I protest before God I did, the sweetest creature in France. Her growth is very little short of her age, and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her discourse with her mother, and the ladies about her, with extraordinary discretion and quickness. She dances (the which I am a witness of) as well as ever I saw any creature. They say she sings most sweetly; I am sure she looks so[a]."

But whatever was her beauty, the temper of her mind was far from being amiable: she was bigotted to the Romish religion, industrious in promoting its interests, and an adviser and an encourager of the king in his most imprudent actions. "Go, coward," said she to his majesty, (when about to seize the five members) "and pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see my face any more[b]." When the civil war broke out, she went into Holland, and pawned the crown jewels, with which she bought ammunition, and sent to her husband. She soon afterwards returned, and gave him counsels most pernicious, as in the course of this work we shall see. Going again to Paris, she endeavoured to raise foreign forces for the king, though in vain; and, after his death, was reduced to great straits[c]; insomuch that she requested

[a] Cabala, p. 312. [b] Echard. [c] Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, vol. I. p. 261. 12mo. Lond. 1723.

structions given to lord Carlton, dispatched

cardinal Mazarine to solicit Cromwell, that he would at least return her dowry: but his solicitations were ineffectual[a]. During the exile of the royal family, she was full of intrigues to get the ascendancy in her son's councils, and frequently quarrelled with his most faithful servants. Some time before the restoration, "the lord Jermyn had the queen greatly in awe of him, and had great interest with her concerns, was married to her, and had children by her[b]." When Charles II. mounted the throne in reality, she came over to London; but again returned to Paris, where she died August 10, 1669.

The following extract will make a proper supplement to this note.——"The king's attachment to the counsels of the queen and her creatures, and his constant neglect of those of the truest friends of his own and the nation's real interest, is evident from the original letters of one of them, Sir Edward Nicholas[c], secretary of state to him and to his son and successor. I shall single out a few passages from these letters. In one to lord Hatton, then at Paris, dated Dec. 4, 1650, Sir Edward complains, that the counsels of the Louvre, where queen Henrietta resided, had been fatal to the crown of England. In another to the same lord, of the 1st of Feb. 1650-1, he expresses his fears, that those counsels, which ruined the father, and brought the good and hopeful king [Charles II.] into the sad condition in which he then was, would never do better. In one to the marquis of Ormond, of March 1, 1650-1, he observes, that for the king

[a] Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. p. 88. vol. I. 8vo. Lond. 1752.

[b] Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 4. 8vo. Lond. 1735. [c] Formerly in the possession of William Nicholas, of West-Horsley in Surry, Esq. and now in that of Sir John Evelyn, of Wotton, in the same county, bart.

by him to Paris, dated at Wanstead, July 12, 1626[8].

[Charles II.] to put himself into the hands of those, whose counsels and conduct had been so apparently unfortunate to his blessed father and himself, was a prudence and policy that he could not fathom. And in one to lord Hatton, of the 7th of June, 1651, N.S. he prays, that the influence of those of the Louvre, which would be a great discouragement to honest men, might not prove as fatal to the young king as to his father[a]."

[8] "CHARLES REX.

"It is not unknown both to the French king and his mother, what unkindnesses and distastes have fallen between my wife and me, which hitherto I have borne with great patience, (as all the world knows) ever expecting and hoping an amendment; knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counsels of her servants, for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination: for at my first meeting of her at Dover, I could not expect more testimonies of respect and love than she shewed: as, to give one instance, her first suit to me was, that she being young, and coming to a strange country, both by her years and ignorance of the customs of the place, might commit many errors, therefore that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had with my instructions learned her to eschew them, and desired me in these cases to use no third person, but to tell her myself, when I found she did any thing amiss. I both granted her request and thanked her for it; but desired her she would use me as she had

[a] Appendix to the Inquiry into the share which K. Charles I. had in the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, 1755.

This representation of king Charles to his

desired me to use her, which she willingly promised me, which promise she never kept: for a little after this, madam St. George taking a distaste, because I would not let her ride with us in the coach, when there was women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in England we think a strange thing) set my wife in such an humour of distaste against me, as from that very hour to this, no man can say that ever she used me two days together with so much respect as I deserved of her; but, by the contrary, has put so many disrespects upon me, as it were too long to set down all. Some I will relate: as I take it, it was at her first coming to Hampton-court, I sent some of my council to her, with those orders that were kept in the queen my mother's house, desiring she would command the counte of Tilliers, that the same might be kept in her's: her answer was, she hoped that I would give her leave to order her house as she list herself (now if she had said that she would speak with me, not doubting to give me satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault, whatsoever she would have said of this to myself; for I could only impute it to ignorance; but I could not imagine that she affronted me so, as to refuse me in such a thing publicly). After I heard this answer, I took a time (when I thought we had both best leisure to dispute it) to tell her calmly both her fault in the public denial, as her mistaking the business itself. She, instead of acknowledging her fault and mistaking, gave me so ill an answer, that I omit, not to be tedious, the relation of that discourse, having too much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little neglects I will not take the pains to set down, as her eschewing to be in my company: when I have any thing to speak to her, I

brother of France, and his sending home the

must means her servant first, else I am sure to be denied; her neglect of the English tongue, and of the nation in general. I will also omit the affront she did me before my going to this last unhappy assembly of parliament, because there has been talk enough of that already, &c. and the author of it is before you in France. To be short, omitting all other passages, coming only to that which is recent in my memory: I having made a commission to make my wife's jointure, &c. to assign her those lands she is to live on, and it being brought to such a ripeness, that it wanted but my consent to the particulars then had chosen: she, taking notice that it was now time to name the officers for her revenue, one night when I was a bed, put a paper in my hand, telling me it was a list of those that she desired to be of her revenue. I took it, and said I would read it next morning; but withal told her, that, by agreement in France, I had the naming of them. She said, there were both English and French in the note. I replied, that those English I thought fit to serve her, I would confirm; but for the French, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature. Then she said, all those in the paper had brevets from her mother and herself, and that she could admit no other. Then I said, it was neither in her mother's power nor her's to admit any without my leave; and that if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in. Then she bad me plainly take my lands to myself; for if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would have neither lands nor house of me, but bad me give her what I thought fit in pension. I bad her then remember to whom she spake, and told her, that she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate dis-

queen's servants who attended her into England, and were to have been of her house-

course, how she is miserable in having no power to place servants, and that business succeeded the worse for her recommendation; which when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on, saying, she was not of that base quality to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me, and end that discourse. Thus having so long patience, with the disturbance of that that should be one of my greatest contentments, I can no longer suffer those that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humours, to be about my wife any longer; which I must do, if it were but for one action they made my wife do, which is, to make her go to Tiburn in devotion to pray; which action can have no greater invective made against, than the relation.——Therefore you shall tell my brother the French king, as likewise his mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it, especially since he hath done the like himself, not staying while he had so much reason: and being an action that some may interpret to be of harshness to his nation, I thought good to give him an account of it, because in all things I would preserve the good correspondency and brotherly affection that is between us[a]."

[a] The King's Cabinet opened, or certain packets or secret letters and papers written with the king's own hand, and taken in his cabinet in Nasby-field, June 14, 1645, by victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax. Published by special order of parliament, London, 4to. 1645. As I shall have occasion frequently to quote these letters, it will be proper, once for all, to establish their authority. This will be best done by king Charles himself, who, in a letter to secretary Nicholas, has these words: "Though I could have wished their pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are mine which they have set out in my name, (only some words here

hold, was owing to Buckingham[9], who, on a particular passion, took all the ways he

[9] This representation of the king's, his sending home the queen's servants who were to have been of her household, was owing to Buckingham, &c.] There is something curious enough in the accounts given us of the cause of Buckingham's aversion to France, and the vexations he caused to the queen of England, which at length raised a war that ended ingloriously to himself and his master, as I shall have occasion hereafter to shew.

"In his embassy in France, where his person and presence was wonderfully admired and esteemed, and in which he appeared with all the lustre the wealth of England could adorn him with, and outshined all the bravery that court could dress itself in, and overacted the whole nation in their own most peculiar vanities; he had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with most importunate addresses; insomuch as, when the king had brought the queen his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the duke, to be by him conducted into England, the duke, in his journey, after the departure of that court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception; and if he had pursued his attempt, he had

here and there are mistaken, and some commas misplaced, but not much material) nor as a good protestant or honest man blush for any of those papers. Indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justify myself; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing that the freedom of all his private letters were publickly seen, as mine have now been." King Charles's Works, p. 155.

could to exasperate the French court, and to lessen the king's affection towards his

been without doubt assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger. But he swore, in the instant, that he would see and speak with that lady, in spite of the strength and power of France. And from the time that the queen arrived in England, he took all the ways he could to undervalue and exasperate that court and nation, by causing all those that fled into England from the justice and displeasure of that king, to be received and entertained here, not only with ceremony and security, but with bounty and magnificence; and the more extraordinary the persons were, and the more notorious their king's displeasure was towards them, the more respectfully they were received and esteemed. He omitted no opportunity to incense the king against France, and to dispose him to assist the Huguenots, whom he likewise encouraged to give their king some trouble. And, which was worse than all this, he took great pains to lessen the king's affection towards his young queen; being exceedingly jealous lest her interest might be of force enough to cross his other designs: and in this stratagem he had brought himself to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness towards the queen; so that, upon expostulations with her on a trivial occasion, he told her she should repent it; and her majesty answering with some quickness, he replied insolently to her, that there had been queens in England who had lost their heads[a]."——In order that the reader may the better understand all this, I will here transcribe a few passages from the memoirs of madam de Motteville, a fa-

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 38.

young queen, fearing lest her interest might be of force enough to cross his other designs.

vourite of Anne of Austria, wife to Lewis XIII.—" At the queen of England's leaving Amiens, the French court accompanied her majesty a little way out of the city, and the queen of France (says madam de Motteville) has done me the honour to tell me, that when the duke of Buckingham came to kiss her gown, she being in the fore-seat of the coach with the princess of Conti, he hid himself with the curtain, as if he had something to say to her; but, in reality, to wipe away the tears which then came into his eyes. The princess of Conti, who had an agreeable way of raillery, and, as I have heard, a great deal of wit, said, on this occasion, speaking of the queen, that she would be answerable to the king for her virtue; but that she could not say so of her cruelty, since, without doubt, the tears of that lover which she had seen on this occasion, ought to have touched her heart, and that she had suspected her eyes to have looked on him at least with pity. The duke of Buckingham's passion (continues the lady) prompted him to a bold action, which the queen has informed me of; and which has been confirmed to me by the queen of England, who had it from Buckingham himself. That illustrious stranger having left Amiens, in order to return to England, whither he was to conduct the princess of France, now queen of England, to her husband; being overcome by his passion, and unable to bear the pains of absence, resolved to see the queen of France again, though it were but for a moment. He formed that design when he was come almost to Calais, and he executed it under pretence of news which he had received from the king his master, that obliged him to return to Amiens. He

And it was universally known, says lord Clarendon [a], that, during his life, the queen

left the queen of England at Boulogne, and came back to Mary de Medicis, then queen-mother, to treat about some pretended affairs, which he took for the pretext of his return. After having done with his chimerical negotiation, he came to the reigning queen, whom he found in bed, almost alone. That princess was informed by a letter from the duchess de Chevreuse, who accompanied the queen of England, of Buckingham's coming back. She spoke of it before Nogent in a jesting manner, and was not surprised when she saw the duke. But she was so when he came freely to kneel down by her bed-side, kissing her sheet with such uncommon transport, that it was easy to perceive that his passion was violent, and of that kind which does not leave the use of reason to those that are seized with it. The queen has told me, that she was troubled at it; which trouble, joined with a little indignation, made her continue a long time without speaking to him. The countess de Lannoi, then her lady of honour, not being willing to suffer the duke to continue in that condition, told him, with a great deal of severity, that what he did was not customary in France, and would have made him rise. But the duke, without appearing surprised, disputed with the old lady, saying that he was no Frenchman, and not bound to observe the laws of the kingdom. Then addressing himself to the queen, he said aloud to her the most tender things imaginable, which she answered only with complaints at his boldness; and, perhaps, (says the lady) without being very angry, she ordered him severely to rise and begone. He did so; and having seen her the next day,

[a] Vol. I. p. 39.

had never any credit with the king, with reference to any public affairs. But the

in presence of all the court, he went away, fully resolved to return into France as soon as possible. All matters relating to Buckingham were told king Lewis to his queen's disadvantage. The queen of England (continues madame Motteville) has since related to me, that quickly after her marriage with king Charles I. she had some dislike to the king her husband, and that Buckingham fomented it: that gentleman saying to her face, that he would set her and her husband at variance, if he could. He succeeded in it; and the queen, in her affliction, was desirous of returning into France, to see the queen her mother; and as she knew the passionate desire which the duke had of seeing once more the young queen of France, she spoke to him of her design. He embraced it with eagerness, and he served her powerfully in obtaining leave from the king her husband to execute it. The queen of England wrote about it to the queen her mother, desiring leave to bring the duke of Buckingham, without whom she could not take that voyage. She was refused both by the queen her mother, and by the king her brother, her design coming to nothing, by reason of that of the duke of Buckingham. This gentleman (says the lady) raised a division between the two crowns, that he might have an occasion of returning into France, by the necessity there would be for a treaty of peace[a]."

The insolence, pride, lust, and revenge of Buckingham, appear from these passages, better than from a thousand descriptions: and it cannot but somewhat

[a] Memoirs towards writing the History of Anne of Austria, at the end of the 4th vol. of Retz Memoirs, p. 186—290. See also Rohan's Memoirs, p. 131. 8vo. Lond. 1660.

death of that favourite, which happened by the hand of a well-meaning assassin [10],

diminish the character of Charles, even in the eyes of his most zealous and devout admirers, when they consider that this man, vile and abandoned in morals as he was, was his chief favourite; and that though he might not do such things himself, yet he had pleasure in him that did them.

[10] Buckingham's death happened by the hand of a well-meaning assassin.] This was John Felton, a gentleman of family in Suffolk, of good fortune and reputation; who had been a lieutenant in the army; which quitting, he resided in London: where learning what an enemy to the nation Buckingham was, and that the house of commons had declared him "the cause of all the evils the kingdom suffered, and an enemy to the public," he believed he should do God good service if he killed the duke. Which shortly after he resolved to do, and actually accomplished at Portsmouth (where Buckingham then was, preparing and making ready the fleet and army designed for the relief of Rochelle, straitly besieged by Richlieu); for he struck him with a knife over his shoulder upon the breast, which piercing his heart, soon occasioned his death. Felton, though he might easily have escaped amidst the hurry and confusion the assassination occasioned, unconscious of ill, but glorying in his noble exploit, walked calmly before the door of the house, owned and justified the fact; though before his death he is said to have repented of it, and asked pardon of "the king, the duchess, and all the duke's servants, whom he acknowledged to have offended [a]." That Felton was an assassin must be owned: that assassinations are, for

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 30.

Aug. 23, 1628, gave the queen an opportunity of exerting an influence over his

the most part, very unjustifiable actions, must be acknowledged; but where the principles, on which such assassinations are founded, appear plausible, and the assassinators appear to have acted out of views to the public good, however mistaken, and not out of self-interest or private revenge; I say, where this is the case, as it seems here to have been, we cannot help pitying the criminals, though we condemn the crime. But to proceed in the history. Felton, after having been confined in prison at London, "was called before the council, where he confessed his inducement above mentioned to the murder. The council much pressed him to confess who set him on work to do such a bloody act, and if the puritans had no hand therein: he denied they had; and so he did to the last, that no person whatsoever knew any thing of his intentions or purpose to kill the duke, that he revealed it to none living. Dr. Laud, bishop of London, being then at the council-table, told him, if he would not confess he must go to the rack. Felton replied, if it must be so, he could not tell whom he might nominate in the extremity of torture; and if what he should say then must go for truth, he could not tell whether his lordship (meaning Laud) or which of their lordships, he might name; for torture might draw unexpected things from him. After this he was asked no more questions, but sent back to prison. The council then fell into debate, whether, by the law of the land, they could justify the putting him to the rack; which, by order of the king, being propounded to all the judges, they unanimously agreed, that he ought not, by the law, to be tortured by the rack; for no such punishment is known or allowed

majesty, which she retained to the last mo-

by our law[a]." Whereupon, being convicted on his own confession, he was hung up in chains. We see here the true spirit of an ecclesiastic (armed with power) in Laud! Cruelty is the distinguishing character. Racks present themselves presently to the imagination of a superstitious tyrannical priest, as the fittest punishments for offenders. Power in such hands, therefore, should never be lodged, because it will degenerate into tyranny, and render unhappy such as are under it ——Let the fate of Buckingham also be a warning to all ministers not to pursue wicked measures; for destruction, in all probability, will come upon them. Public justice may make them examples: a Felton may arise to dispatch them; or if neither of these should occasion their fall, but they should brave justice and escape its stroke, yet their names shall be branded with infamy and reproach in the annals of the times in which they lived, though pimps and parasites have ever so loudly sounded their praises.

The following account of Felton may be looked on as no improper supplement to this note.—" He was of a religious and quiet conversation, given to no open vice nor whimsical opinions, being a frequent heare of those preachers as were never found to give encouragement to such practices, but rather the contrary.— Nor was honest Jack, a title always given him, (though rendered after more diffusive by the duke's enemies, than so ill a consequence might merit) agitated by revenge, or any privater spirit than what he was persuaded did regard the commonweal; as I heard William earl of Pembroke protest, who could not but be the best informed, having assisted at his examinations:

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 638.

ment of his life. For" he was remarkably

who did withal aver, he never saw piety and valour better or more temperately mixed in one person; nor was he found, as the same lord attested, in any untruth[a]." I think I had reason to give Felton the epithet of well-meaning.

" He was remarkably uxorious, &c.] Sir Philip Warwick tells us, that " king Charles was always more chairy of the queen's person, than of his business[b]." —Burnet observes, " that he was unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the queen[c]." And if we turn to his letters, taken at Naseby, we shall find the strongest proofs of the regard he paid to her advice, and her influence over him. I will transcribe a few passages from among many. In a letter, dated Oxford, 13 Feb. 1643, we have the following expressions:——" I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that, for my sake, thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to me, that I confess it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do, much less by words: but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee out of thine own noble heart.—Some finds fault as too much kindness to thee; but I assure such, that I want expression, not will, to do it ten times more to thee, on all occasions. Others press me as being brought upon the stage; but I answer, that having profest to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it[d]." Nor were these mere expressions; for, in

[a] Osborn's Works, p. 224. 8vo. Lond. 1673. [b] Memoirs, p. 204. [c] Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. I. p. 70. Dutch edit. [d] King's Cabinet Opened, p. 38.

uxorious, consulted his wife in all his affairs,

fact, he cared not to do any thing without first consulting her majesty, and obtaining her approbation.

"Now," says he, in a letter to the queen, dated May 14, 1645, "I must make a complaint to thee of my son Charles; which troubles me the more, that thou mayest suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee. It is this: he hath sent to desire me, that Sir John Greenfield may be sworn gentleman of his bedchamber; but already so publickly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my son and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his father's merits, his own hopefulness, besides the great power that family has in the West; yet I have refused the admitting of him until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee, first, to chide my son for engaging himself without one of our consents; then not to refuse thy own consent; and lastly, to believe, that, directly or indirectly, I never knew of this while yesterday, at the delivery of my son's letter. So farewel, sweet heart, and God send me good news from thee[a]."

And in a letter, dated 9 June 1645, speaking of the good state of his affairs to her, he adds, "Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy letter by Fitz-Williams, assuring me of thy perfect recovery, with thy wonted kindness, which makes me capable of taking contentment in these good successes; for as divers men proposes several recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this rebellion, so thy company is the only reward I expect and wish for[b]." From these and many like passages, it appears how uxorious Charles

[a] King's Cabinet Opened, p. 10. [b] Id. p. 14.

was influenced by her, and, in a manner,

was, how much governed by a woman! And consequently, in the opinion of some brave spirits, in a state most ignominious. "An ille mihi liber, cui mulier imperat? cui leges imponit, præscribit, jubet, vetat quod videtur? qui nihil imperanti negare potest, nihil recusare audet? poscit? dandum est: vocat? veniendum: ejicit? abeundum: minatur? extimescendum. Ego verò istum non modo servum, sed nequissimum servum, etiam si in amplissima familia natus sit, appellandum puto[a]." *i. e.* "Shall I esteem the man to be free who is the slave of a woman, who imposes laws on him, commands, forbids, and regulates his conduct at pleasure; who neither can refuse what she requests, nor dares disobey her orders? If she asks any thing, it must be given; does she call? he must answer; when shut out he must quietly be gone: in a word, if she threatens him, he must of course be filled with terror. Such a man, let his birth and family be ever so illustrious, deserves, in my opinion, not simply the appellation of slave, but that of the most servile of all slaves."

——God's universal law
Gave to the man despotic power
Over his female in due awe,
Nor from that right to part an hour,
Smile she or lour:
So shall he least confusion draw
On his whole life, not sway'd
By female usurpation, or dismay'd. MILTON.

These things are boldly said! but possibly they who uttered them, might not themselves have been able wholly to make them good; for women, in all ages, have had great sway. Beauty has triumphed over the

[a] Cic. Paradoxa, vol. II.

wholly at her disposal. So that we may reasonably presume [12], the reproaches which

wise, the brave, and good; and therefore Charles, in this respect, may be entitled to some degree of pity! Though, after all, to admit a wife to dictate and direct in matters of state, to interfere in the affairs of a kingdom, to whose laws and customs she was a stranger, and whose religious opinions and practices she abhorred; I say, to do this, was weak and inexcusable.

[12] The reproaches that have been cast upon him of infidelity to the marriage-bed, are without foundation, &c.] The licentiousness of some writers is very amazing: not content to represent princes as they really were, they study to blacken them, though without foundation. This has happened to Charles very remarkably. One should have thought his attachment to the queen, her ascendancy over him, the regard he paid her, and his having never a mistress publicly mentioned, should have hindered even a thought of his unchastity. But he has not passed unsuspected of this, as well as other matters, in which, probably, he had no concern.—Let us hear his accusation.—"He did not greatly court the ladies, nor had he a lavish affection unto many: he was manly, and well fitted for venereous sports, yet rarely frequented illicit beds. I do not hear of above one or two natural children he had, or left behind him [a]."—Sir Edward Peyton tells us, "the queen was very jealous of the king; insomuch as he, loving a very great lady, now alive, whom he had for a mistress, to the intent he might have more freedom with her, sent her lord into the low countries. In the mean while, he daily courted her at Oxford, in her husband's and the queen's absence: but the lord return-

[a] Lilly's Observations on the Life of King Charles, p. 11.

have been cast on him of infidelity to the marriage-bed, are without foundation,

ing, the king diverted his affectionate thoughts to another married lady, of whom the queen was jealous at her return from France; so that, on a time, this lady being in queen Mary's presence, and dressed à-la-mode, the queen viewing her round, told the lady, she would be a better mistress for a king than a wife for a knight. The lady replied, Madam, I had rather be mistress to a king, than any man's wife in the world. For which answer she was obliged to absent herself from court a long time[a]."

The last evidence against Charles, on this head, shall be Milton, who in his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, has these words: "Castimoniam tu ejus et continentiam laudes, quem cum duce Buckingamio flagitiis omnibus coopertum novimus? secretiora ejus et recessus perscrutari quid attinet, qui in theatro medias mulieres petulanter amplecti, et suaviari, qui virginum & matronarum papillas, ne dicam cætera, pertractare in propatulo consueverat. Te porrò moneo pseudo Plutarche, ut istius modi parallelis ineptissimis de hinc supersedeas, ne ego quæ tacerem alioqui libens de Carolo, necesse habeam enuntiare[b]." *i. e.* "Have you the impudence (speaking to Salmasius) to commend his chastity and sobriety, who is known to have committed all manner of lewdness in company with his confident the duke of Buckingham? It were to no purpose to enquire into the private actions of his life, who publicly, at plays, would embrace and kiss the ladies lasciviously, and handle virgins' and matrons' breasts, not to mention the rest. I advise you therefore, you counterfeit Plutarch, to abstain from such like parallels, [between Charles and David, and Solo-

[a] Divine Catastrophe, p. 33. [b] Milton's Works, vol. II. p. 815.

though we had not those strong assurances of his chastity we now have. He was, in-

mon] lest I be forced to publish those things concerning Charles, which I am willing to conceal."

Many objections arise on the face of this evidence against Charles's chastity. Lilly does not positively say that he had any natural children, but that he did not hear of above one or two; which is a very indeterminate way of talking in such an affair. Peyton is very positive, we see, but he names no lady, though he speaks of two: which I am persuaded, from his hatred to the memory of Charles, he would have done, had he known on whom with certainty to have pitched; not to take notice that the queen never was at Oxford after her return from France, as Peyton seems to assert. Milton is a name at all times to be mentioned with honour; but truth compels me to say, that what he here speaks has much, too much, the air of declamation to be entirely relied on. Buckingham was lewd; but no one, but Milton, hints that Charles was a partaker of his vices; and his evidence, delivered in such a way, (as he himself could not have been a spectator) is not sufficient to condemn him. The handling virgins' and matrons' breasts, though not seemingly consistent with the gravity Charles remarkably preserved in his whole behaviour, depends much on the custom of ages and countries; and therefore, had it been ever so publicly done, cannot of itself determine against a man's chastity. A single fact, advanced with proper vouchers, would have been of more force in determining the chastity of Charles, than a thousand of these kind of assertions and inferences. But as such a fact, properly attested, has not been brought, even by Peyton or Milton, we may, I think, conclude that they could not;

deed, remarkably grave and sober in his whole behaviour, free from intemperance,

and consequently that in this matter he was blameless. There is a letter published lately, in Cibber's Lives of the Poets, said once to have belonged to archbishop Sancroft, which is thought to evidence Charles's being engaged in one intrigue in his youth. It is addressed to the duke of Buckingham, in the terms following:

"STENNY,

"I have nothing now to write to you, but to give you thanks both for the good counsel ye gave me, and for the event of it. The king gave me a good sharp portion; but you took away the working of it, by the well-relished comfites ye sent after it. I have met with the party, that must not be named, once already; and the culler of writing this letter, shall make me meet with her on Saturday, altho' it is written the day being Thursday. So, assuring you that the business goes safely on, I rest your constant friend,

"CHARLES."

"I hope you will not shew the king this letter; but put it in the safe custody of Mr. Vulcan [a]."

That this letter relates to some intrigue is certain: whether it was of the amorous, or whether of the political kind, may be pretty hard certainly to say. Possibly the business related in note 5 may help to explain it.

I proceed now to give the direct proofs of Charles's chastity, that no suspicion may be left in the mind of the reader.

Lord Clarendon tells us, that "he was so great an

[a] Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. II. p. 202. Lond. 1753. 12mo.

and but little addicted to the foolish custom of swearing, though he kept not wholly free from it on particular occasions, or great

example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular, durst not brag of their liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service[a]." And the day before his death he bade "his daughter Elizabeth tell her mother, that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last[b]." To these testimonies I will add that of May, a writer professedly on the side of the parliament, and secretary for it, as he stiles himself. "The same affections [of love and esteem] followed him [Charles] to the throne: says he, the same hopes and fair presages of his future government, whilst they considered the temperance of his youth, how clear he had lived from personal vice, being growne to the age of twenty-three; how untainted of those licentious extravagancies, which unto that age and fortune are not only incident, but almost thought excuseable[c]." And in another place he observes, "that Charles lived more conformably to the rules of the protestant religion, than any of his contemporary princes in Europe[d]." And the earl of Leicester speaks of this "king's life as profitable to all christians, by the exemplariness thereof[e]." I think here is such sufficient evidence of Charles's chastity, that he cannot, with the least shadow of reason, be deemed guilty of incontinence, and consequently in this respect that he was praiseworthy.

[a] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 257. [b] King Charles's Works, p. 206.
[c] May's History of the Parliament of England, p. 7. fol. Lond. 1647.
[d] May's History, p. 11. [e] Sidney's State-papers, vol. II. p. 418.

provocations [a]. He was diligent and exact in the performance of the external acts of religion [13], and is said to have been regular

For chastity, even in a prince, is a virtue, and productive of many happy effects. Vice, though not extirpated by the royal example, will skulk into corners, and be afraid to shew her head: infamy and dishonour will attend those who are known publicly to practise it; the marriage-bed will be reverenced and honoured, and peace, harmony, and concord in families prevail. Whereas, if the prince is lewd and debauched, if he roams abroad and violates the virgin, or adulterously invades the matron's bed [b], and fears not to proclaim his unchaste deeds; no wonder those around him are emboldened by his example, and openly practise every act of uncleanness.

[13] He was diligent and exact in the performance of the external acts of religion] As this part of Charles's character, has not been denied, a few testimonies will be sufficient to confirm it.—" He was," says lord Clarendon, " very punctual and regular in his devotions: he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at publick prayers; so that, on hunting-days, his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was

[a] Clarendon, vol. II. p. 451.

[b] Princes, addicted to this practice, should ask themselves, how they would like to be addressed in Butler's lines to Charles II.

Thy great example prompts each spouse
To make a jest of marriage-vows;
Encourages each beauteous dame
To sin, without the fear of shame;
Makes all thy peers turn keeping cullies,
To imitate thy princely follies.

I fancy, few princes would think these verses contained an encomium.

and constant in the private exercise of devotion, setting a pattern to others in what

likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet-devotion; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence, in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered; and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean[a]." "Laud," says Heylin, "humbly moved his majesty, that he would be present at the Liturgy, as well as the sermon every Lord's-day; and that at whatsoever part of prayers he came, the priest, who ministered, should proceed to the end of the service. To which his majesty most readily and religiously condescended, and gave him thanks for that his seasonable and pious motion[b]." Let us add hereunto Dr. Perinchief's testimony, concerning this king's devotion, that we may see it in its full extent,——"His majesty's constant diligence in those duties [of religion] did demonstrate, that nothing but a principle of holiness, which is always uniform, both moved and assisted him in those sacred performances, to which he was observed to go with an exceeding alacrity as to a ravishing pleasure, from which no lesser pleasures nor business were strong enough for a diversion. In the morning, before he went to hunting, his beloved sport, the chaplains were before day called to their ministry: and when he was at Brainford, among the noise of arms, and near the assaults of his enemies, he caused the divine, that then waited, to perform his accustomed service, before he provided for safety, or attempted at victory; and would

[a] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 257. [b] Heylin's Life of Laud, fol. p. 166 Lond. 1668.

related to the worship and service of Almighty God: so that it would be hardly

first gain upon the love of heaven, and then afterwards repel the malice of men.—At sermons he carried himself with such a reverence and attention, (that his enemies which hated, yet did even admire him in it) as if he were expecting new instructions for government from that God whose deputy he was, or a new charter for a larger empire: and he was so careful not to neglect any of those exercises, that if on Tuesday mornings, on which days there used to be sermons at court, he were at any distance from thence, he would ride hard to be present at the beginnings of them[a]." Though we make some allowances for what these writers panegyrically have written, concerning the devotion of this prince, we shall be forced to own, that his behaviour in matters of religion was indeed exemplary, and that he was at a great distance from the character of the scorner.—It is true, a man's character is not to be determined by these external acts of piety; it being very possible that men may, with respect to these, be blameless, though the weightier matters of the law be neglected. For which reason, Milton, without disputing the fact, observes, "that he who from such kind of psalmistry, or any other verbal devotion, without the pledge and earnest of suitable deeds, can be persuaded of a zeal and true righteousness in the person, hath much yet to learn, and knows not that the deepest policy of a tyrant hath been ever to counterfeit religious. And Aristotle, in his politics, hath mentioned that special craft, among twelve other tyrannical sophisms. Neither want we examples: Andronicus Comnenus, the Byzantine emperor, though a most cruel tyrant, is reported, by Nicetas, to have been

[a] Perinchief's Life of King Charles, p. 60.

credible (did not historians unanimously concur in recording the fact) that he should

a constant reader of St. Paul's Epistles; and, by continual study, had so incorporated the phrase and stile of that transcendant apostle into all his familiar letters, that the imitation seemed to vie with the original. Yet this availed not to deceive the people of that empire, who, notwithstanding his saint's vizard, tore him to pieces for his tyranny. From stories of this nature, both antient and modern, which abound, the poets also, and some English, have been, in this point, so mindful of decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person than of a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the king might be less conversant; but one whom we well know was the closet-companion of these his solitudes, William Shakespear, who introduces the person of Richard III. speaking in as high a strain of piety and mortification as is uttered in any passage of this book [the Eikon Basilike], and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this place: I intended, saith he, not only to oblige my friends, but my enemies. The like saith Richard, Act II. Scene I.

> "I do not know that Englishman alive,
> With whom my soul is any jot at odds,
> More than the infant that is born to-night;
> I thank my God for my humility.

"Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the whole tragedy, wherein the poet used not much license in departing from the truth of history, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections only, but of his religion[a]."

There is great justness in these remarks, whether they affect the case of king Charles or no, which will

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 408.

revive the declaration of his father, concerning lawful sports[14] on the Lord's-day, dis-

best appear after the reader has attentively considered him in his private and public character: for all that he is represented as having done, may have been nothing more than a mere form of godliness, though it was ever so sincere, as I see no reason to suppose the contrary. Thousands of men have done as much or more, who yet were far enough from being virtuous. For he that doth righteousness, is righteous: he that doth it not, deceives himself, if he thinks he has any right to that character, on account of diligence and exactness in the acts of private or public devotion.

Far be it from me to censure Charles on the account of his devotion. It were to be wished men's characters were always uniform, that where there was an appearance of piety, every virtue was also to be found; but as it is well known this is not the case, we are not to presume a man good, because he is devout.

[14] That he should revive the declaration of his father, concerning lawful sports on the Lord's-day, &c.] One would have thought that the strict observation of the Lord's-day would have been agreeable to the grave and religious temper of Charles; for it tends much to increase sobriety of thought and behaviour, and to keep up in men's minds a sense of the Deity, the obligations they are under to worship him, and the account they have to render unto him, as well as many other good purposes. This the lord chief justice Richardson, and the justices of peace for Somersetshire, were very sensible of, and therefore made an order at the assizes for the suppression of ales and revels on the Lord's-day in that county; thinking them dishonourable to God, and prejudicial to his majesty and the country. Hereupon Laud, archbishop of Canterbury,

countenance such as were for a strict observance of it, and even at council suffer the

complained to the king; and the chief justice was commanded to attend the board, and, notwithstanding all he could allege, to revoke his order, which at the next assizes he was forced to do, contrary to his inclinations, as well as to the inclinations of the lord Paulet, Sir William Portman, Sir John Stowell, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Francis Popham, Sir Edward Rodney, Sir Francis Doddington, Sir Jo. Hornei, Edward Paulet, William Basset, George Speke, John Wyndham, Thomas Lutterel, William Walrone, and divers others; who drew up a petition to the king, shewing the great inconveniencies that would befall the county, if these meetings and assemblies should now be set up again. But before these gentlemen could deliver their petition to the king, it was prevented by the coming forth of his majesty's declaration, concerning lawful sports; his majesty giving the ensuing warrant for the same.

"CHARLES REX.

"Canterbury, see that our declaration, concerning recreations on the Lord's-day, after evening-prayer, be printed."

And accordingly, on the 18th of October 1633, it came forth in print, and was to this effect:

"That king James, of blessed memory, in his return from Scotland, coming through Lancashire, found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sundays, after evening-prayers ended, and upon holydays. And he prudently considered, that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort who labour hard all the week, should have no recreations at all, to refresh their spirits. And, after his return, he further saw, that his loyal subjects in all other parts of his kingdom did suffer in the same kind, though per-

chief justice Richardson to be reprimanded in such a severe manner by the bishop of

haps not in the same degree; and did therefore, in his princely wisdom, publish a declaration to all his loving subjects, concerning lawful sports to be used at such times; which was printed and published by his royal commandment in the year 1618, in the tenor which hereafter followeth.

"Whereas, upon his majesty's return last year out of Scotland, he did publish his pleasure, touching the recreations of his people in those parts, under his hand. For some causes him thereunto moving, hath thought good to command these his directions, then given in Lancashire, with a few words thereunto added, and most appliable to these parts of the realm, to be published to all his subjects.

"Whereas he did justly, in his progress through Lancashire, rebuke some puritans and precise people; and took order, that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of his good people for using their lawful recreations, and honest exercises, upon Sundays, and other holidays, after the afternoon-sermon or service. His majesty hath now found, that two sorts of people, wherewith that country is much infected, *viz.* papists and puritans, hath maliciously traduced and calumniated those his just and honourable proceedings: and therefore, lest his reputation might, upon the one side (though innocently), have some aspersion laid upon it; and that, upon the other part, his good people in that country be misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of his meaning, his majesty hath therefore thought good hereby to clear and make his pleasure to be manifested to all his good people in those parts.

London, that, says Heylin, he came out blubbering and complaining, that he had

"It is true, that, at his first entry to this crown and kingdom, he was informed, and that truly, that his county of Lancashire abounded more in popish recusants than any county of England, and thus hath still continued since, to his great regret, with little amendment; save that, now of late, in his last riding through his said county, hath found, both by the report of the judges and of the bishop of that diocess, that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to his majesty. The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made his majesty the more sorry, when, with his own ears, he heard the general complaint of his people, that they were debarred from all lawful recreations and exercise upon the Sunday's afternoon, after the ending of all divine service, which cannot but produce two evils: the one, the hindering the conversion of many, whom their priests will take occasion hereby to vex, persuading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in the religion which the king professeth, and which cannot but breed a great discontentment in his people's hearts, especially of such as are, peradventure, upon the point of turning. The other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war, when his majesty or his successors shall have occasion to use them; and in place thereof, sets up tipling and filthy drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their ale-houses. For when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holidays, seeing that they must apply their labour, and win their living, in all working-days?

been almost choaked with a pair of lawn sleeves. This declaration, we are assured

"The king's express pleasure therefore is, that the laws of this kingdom, and canons of the church, be as well observed in that county, as in all other places of this his kingdom. And, on the other part, that no lawful recreation shall be barred to his good people, which shall not tend to the breach of the aforesaid laws and canons of his church: which to express more particularly, his majesty's pleasure is, that the bishops, and all other inferior churchmen, and church-wardens, shall, for their parts, be careful and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and convince and reform them that are misled in religion; presenting them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out, to the judges and justices; whom he likewise commands to put the laws in due execution against them.

"His majesty's pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of the diocess take the like strict order with all the puritans and precisians within the same, either constrain them to conform themselves, or to leave the country, according to the laws of this kingdom, and canons of this church, and so to strike equally on both hands against the contemners of his authority, and adversaries of the church. And as for his good people's lawful recreation, his pleasure likewise is, that, after the end of divine service, his good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation; such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreations; nor from having of May-games, Whitson-ales, and Morice-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used; so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service. And that women shall have

by Whitlock, gave great distaste, not only

leave to carry rushes to the church, for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But withal his majesty doth hereby account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and, at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling.

"And likewise bars from this benefit and liberty, all such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service; being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God: prohibiting in like sort the said recreations to any that, though conform in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations. His pleasure likewise is, that they, to whom it belongeth in office, shall present and sharply punish all such as, in abuse of this his liberty, will use these exercises before the end of all divine services for that day. And he doth likewise straightly command, that every person shall resort to his own parish-church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service: prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried, or used, in the same times of recreation. And his pleasure is, that this his declaration shall be published, by order from the bishop of the diocess, through all the parish-churches; and that both the judges of the circuits, and the justices of the peace, be informed thereof.

"Given at the manor of Greenwich the 24th day of May, in the sixteenth year of his majesty's reign, of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the one and fiftieth."

"Now out of a like pious care for the service of

to those who were usually termed puritans,

God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his well-deserving people, his majesty doth ratify and publish this his blessed father's declaration; the rather, because of late, in some counties of this kingdom, his majesty finds that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called Wakes. Now his majesty's express will and pleasure is, that these feasts, with others, shall be observed; and that his justices of the peace, in their several divisions, shall look to it, both that all disorders there may be prevented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises, be used. And his majesty further commands all justices of assize, in their several circuits, to see, that no man do trouble or molest any of his loyal and dutiful people, in or for their lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to his majesty's laws. And for this his majesty commands all his judges, justices of peace, as well within liberties as without, majors, bailiffs, constables, and other officers, to take notice of, and to see observed, as they tender his displeasure. And doth further will, that publication of this his command be made, by order from the bishops, through all the parish churches of their several diocesses respectively.

"Given at the palace of Westminster, the 18th day of October, in the ninth year of his reign.

"God save the King[a]."

[a] Rushw. Collections, part 2nd, vol. I. fol. p. 191-196. Lond. 1680. Franklin's Annals, p. 437. fol. Lond. 1681. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 255-2.., fol. Lond. 1668.

but to many others; and, as we shall hereafter see, produced ill effects.

But though, from this declaration, one

This is the declaration for sports on the Sabbath-day, so often mentioned by writers; which I chose to give at length, that the reader might the better be able to judge of it.—For my own part, I shall content myself with observing, that, however the question concerning the morality of the Sabbath (for by that name it generally went in the times of which we are writing) be determined, the public licence and encouragement of diversions, after divine service, was a thing of ill report, destructive to the morals of the common people, opposite to a statute made in this reign, and yet in force[a], of a tendency to efface any good impressions received in the worship of God, and seemingly inconsistent with the answer or prayer subjoined to the fourth commandment in the Common Prayer-book, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law!" and consequently must leave an ill impression on the minds of men, with respect to his majesty's regard to religion and morality; more especially, when it is known that he himself made use of the liberty he gave to his subjects. For it must not be concealed, that Charles scrupled not giving a mask on a Sunday, as we are informed in a letter from the reverend Mr. Gerrard to the lord-deputy Wentworth, dated London, Feb. 7, 1637. "The French and Spanish ambassadors," says he, "were both at the king's mask, but not received as ambassadors. The French sat amongst the ladies, the Spanish in a box. It was performed on a Sunday-night, the day after the

[a] 1 Caroli, c. 1.

would have imagined king Charles not subject to the weaknesses of those against whom it was chiefly pointed; yet nothing can be

Twelfth-night, in very cold weather, so that the house was not filled according to expectation. The act of council to drive all men into the country, the coldness of the weather, the day Sunday, and the illness of the invention of the scenes, were given for causes, why so small a company came to see it. My lord-treasurer [bishop Juxton] was there by command[a]."—But to go on.—It certainly is a very odd way to express a pious care for the service of God, by encouraging Morice-dances, May-games, and May-poles, on the day set apart for his worship; and men could not easily bring themselves to believe that the practice of virtue could be much promoted by the mixt dancing of men and women, and their association at Wakes and Whitsun-ales. For, whatever may be thought of it, if the common people gad abroad on the Sunday, and spend it in idleness or diversions, a loose turn of mind will be contracted, and a great depravity of manners ensue: and, therefore, it behoves those who are in authority, to promote a regular and exemplary behaviour on the Lord's-day, whereby decency of manners will be increased, knowledge advanced, and a sense of religion (a thing of the greatest importance to societies, as well as to individuals) heightened in the minds of men. This, I say, is the duty of those in authority: If they neglect it, they are not to wonder at the wickedness and stupidity of those about them, or complain of their breach of every social duty.

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 148.

more certain, than that[15] he fell into super-

[15] He fell into superstition, the vice of weak minds.] Superstition is a debasement of reason and religion; it is entertaining misapprehensions of Almighty God; it is the practice of things weak and ridiculous, in order to please him, whereby it excites in the mind chimerical hopes, ill-grounded fears, and vain expectations: in short, it is weakness, attended with uneasiness and dread, and productive of confusion and horror. Every one knows the mischiefs superstition has produced in the world: gods of all sorts and kinds; sacrifices of beasts and men; rights, ceremonies, and postures; antick tricks, and cruel torments; with every other thing which, from time to time, has been falsely called by the name of religion, have arose from hence. It took its rise early in the world, and soon spread itself over the face of the earth; and few, very few, were there who were wholly free from it. The doctrine of Christ, indeed, was calculated to destroy its dominion, and to restore religion to its original lustre, by teaching men to think honourably of the Deity, to practise virtue, to submit cheerfully to the Divine Will, and expect happiness from his hands in consequence thereof. Very little stress is laid on externals by the writers of the New Testament. It is sobriety and righteousness, it is the love of God and men, it is meekness and humility, and every thing lovely and praiseworthy, which are insisted on in, and recommended by it: but as for pomp, and parade and shew, these were not thought worthy of notice, or deemed mischievous and hurtful. Yet, notwithstanding this, superstition very soon found an entrance among Christians, and at length increased to an enormous size. The reformation of religion, and the revival of letters, were somewhat unfriendly to it: but whether it be the

stition, the vice of weak minds; which oc-

craft of those who subsist by the ignorance and credulity of others, or whether it be a proneness in men to superstition, or their laziness and inattention to other than sensible objects; I say, whether it be owing to one or all of these causes, superstition remained still alive, and shewed itself even among those who gloried that they had got rid of the papal yoke. I doubt not, Charles would have been affronted, had any one told him he was superstitious, especially when in the height of his power; and, I believe, it would not have been very safe for any one to have attempted to prove it: however, what would have then been imprudent, may now be safe; and therefore, at the distance of more than an hundred years, I think I may hazard the charging it on him. But it is not expected my word alone should be taken: let the reader hear the evidence, and then judge impartially. His majesty in a letter to the queen, dated Jan. 14, 1644-5, has the following paragraph.

"I will not trouble thee with repetitions of news, Digby's dispatch, which I have seen, being so full, that I can add nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase on that which he calls his superstitious observation. It is this: nothing can be more evident, than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgments upon this nation, by a furious civil war; both sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a manner equally guilty: but now this last crying blood [Laud's] being totally theirs, I believe it no presumption hereafter to hope, that his hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed by our faults[a]."

[a] The King's Cabinet Opened, p. 24.

casioned his making unreasonable vows,

Dr. Perinchief assures us, "That after the army had forced him from Holmby, and in their several removes had brought him to Latmas, an house of the earl of Devonshire, on August 1, being Sunday in the morning, before sermon, he led forth with him, into the garden, the reverend Dr. Sheldon, (who then attended on him, and whom he was pleased to use as his confessor) and drawing out of his pocket a paper, commanded him to read it, transcribe it, and so to deliver it to him again. This paper contained several vows, which he had obliged his soul unto, for the glory of his Maker, the advance of true piety, and the emolument of the church. And among them this was one; that he would do public penance for the injustice he had suffered to be done to the earl of Strafford, his consent to those injuries that were done to the church of England, (though at that time he had yielded to no more than the taking away of the high commission, and the bishops' power to vote in parliament) and to the church of Scotland: and adjured the doctor, that if ever he saw him in a condition to observe that or any of those vows, he should solicitously mind him of the obligations, as he dreaded the guilt of the breach should lie upon his own soul[a]."

One of these vows we have remaining in his majesty's own words, as follows: "I do hereby promise and solemnly vow, in the presence and for the service of almighty God, that if it shall please the Divine Majesty, of his infinite goodness, to restore me to my just kingly rights, and to re-establish me in my throne, I will wholly give back to his church all those impropriations which are now held by the crown; and what lands soever I do now, or should enjoy, which have

[a] Perinchief's Life of Charles I. p. 60.

consulting the stars, and regarding omens!

been taken away either from any episcopal see, or any cathedral or collegiate church, from any abbey, or other religious house. I likewise promise for hereafter to hold them from the church, under such reasonable fines and rents as shall be set down by some conscientious persons, whom I propose to chuse, with all uprightness of heart, to direct me in this particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my vow, and to bless me in the design I have now in hand, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"CHARLES R.

"Oxford, Ap. 13, 1646.

"This is a true copy of the king's vow, which was preserved thirteen years under ground, by me,

"1660, Aug. 21. Gilb. Sheldon[a]."

I would not chuse to make any reflections on these vows of Charles; but I am persuaded the sensible reader will not be displeased with the following observations on vows in general. In my own opinion, they are very just.—"I remember a saying of some of the Jewish doctors, that vows, for the most part, come from some evil principle; and therefore they advise those who consult the quiet of their minds, to be very cautious in making them, because they are most times only snares to them: and it very often appears, that those who are of the most unfit tempers to make vows, are the most ready to do it. For those who are apt to be transported with passion, or are sensible of the instability of their own temper, think to give stronger checks to themselves by entering into solemn vows; from whence they vow that frequently, in a heat of zeal or passion, which, upon farther consideration,

[a] Le Neve's Lives of the Archbishops, &c. p. 178, 8vo. Lond. 1720.

But this was but a trifle, compared with his obstinate attachment to his own opinions,

they may see cause to repent [a]."—But to return to our subject.

The following transaction, related by Dr. Welwood, may possibly have somewhat of the same weakness in it; though I produce it not as a proof of Charles's superstition, but for the entertainment of the reader.

"The king being at Oxford, during the civil wars, went one day to see the public library, where he was shewed, among other books, a Virgil, nobly printed, and exquisitely bound. The lord Faulkland, to divert the king, would have his majesty make his trial of his fortune by the [b] *Sortes Virgilianæ*, which every body knows was an usual kind of augury some ages past. Whereupon the king opening the book, the period which happened to come up was that of Dido's imprecation against Æneas, which Mr. Dryden translates thus:

"Yet let a race untam'd, and haughty foes,
His peaceful entrance with dire arms oppose:
Oppress'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men discourag'd, and himself expell'd;
Let him for succour sue from place to place,
Torn from his subjects' and his sons' embrace!
First let him see his friends in battle slain,
And their untimely fate lament in vain;
And when at length the cruel war shall cease,
On hard conditions may he buy his peace.
Nor let him then enjoy supreme command,
But fall untimely by some hostile hand,
And lie unbury'd on the barren sand.

Æneid iv. l. 88.

"It is said king Charles seemed concerned at this accident; and that the lord Faulkland observing it,

[a] Stillingfleet's Miscellaneous Discourses, p. 12. 8vo. Lond. 1735.
[b] See concerning these, Gataker on Lots, p. 340. 4to. Lond. 1627.

in what he deemed religion, his ill thoughts of such as differed from him in it, the zeal

would likewise try his own fortune in the same manner, hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thereby divert the king's thoughts from any impression the other might have upon him. But the place that Faulkland stumbled upon, was yet more suited to his destiny than the other had been to the king's, being the following expressions of Evander, upon the untimely death of his son Pallas, as they are translated by the same hand.

" O Pallas! thou hast fail'd thy plighted word,
To fight with caution, not to tempt the sword:
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew
What perils youthful ardour would pursue:
That boiling blood would carry thee too far;
Young as thou wert in dangers, raw to war!
O curst essay of arms, disastrous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come[a]!"

Æneid xi. l. 230.

But though his majesty had such ill fortune read to him from Virgil, he was still inquisitive into futurity, and desirous of direction from the stars. When he was at Hampton-court, in 1647, he meditated an escape from the soldiery; and madam Whorewood, by his consent, came to receive my judgment, (says Lilly) viz. " in what quarter of this nation he might be most safe, and not be discovered until himself pleased. After erection of my figure, I told her, about twenty miles (or thereabouts) from London, and in Essex, I was certain he might continue undiscovered." And at another time, about September, the parliament sent their commissioners with propositions to him into the isle of Wight. Whereupon the lady Whorewood

[a] Welwood's Memoirs, p. 64. 12mo. Glasgow, 1749.

he was actuated with against them, and the hardships he suffered to be inflicted on

came again unto Lilly from the king, or by his consent, to be directed. "After the perusal of my figure," adds he, "I told her the commissioners would be there such a day; I elected a day and hour when to receive the commissioners and propositions; and as soon as the propositions were read, to sign them, and make haste with all speed to come up with the commissioners to London. The army being then far distant from London, and the city enraged stoutly against them, he promised he would so do[a]."—I will add but one or two proofs more. "The king's deportment (at his trial) says Warwick, was very majestic and steddy; and yet, as he confest himself to the bishop of London (Juxon) that attended him, one action shocked him very much: for whilst he was leaning in the court upon his staff, which had an head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden. He took it up, but seemed unconcerned; yet told the bishop, it really made a great impression upon him; and to this hour," says he, "I know not how it should possibly come[b]."

And Dr. Perinchief tells us, "that while the king was at Oxford, and the earl of Southampton, as gentleman of the bedchamber, lay one night in the same chamber with him, the wax-mortar, which, according to custom, the king always had in his chamber, was in the night, as they both conceived and took notice of, fully extinguished. But my lord rising in the morning found it lighted, and said to the king, Sir, this mortar now burns very clearly: at which they both exceedingly wondered, as fully concluding it had been out in the night; and they could not imagine how any

[a] Lilly's History of his Life and Times, p. 60, 62. [b] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 339.

them; his superstition was but a trifle, I say, when compared with [16] his bigotry,

of the grooms, or any other, could possibly light it, the door being locked with a spring within. This busying the wonder of both for the present, the king afterwards, when he saw the malice of his enemies press hard upon his life and ruin, reflecting upon this occurrence, drew it into this presage, that though God would permit his light to be extinguished for a time, yet he would at last light it again[a]."

Mr. Aubrey, on the authority of Fabian Philips, relates that Charles, after he was condemned, told Col. Tomlinson, "that he believed the English monarchy was now at an end: about half an hour after, he told the colonel, that now he had an assurance, by a strong impulse on his spirit, that his son should reign after him[b]."

These are the facts on which I found the assertion of the superstition of this monarch; a superstition which was attended with a bigotry remarkable, as we shall soon see.

[16] His bigotry was most excessive.] Charles had religious prejudices deeply implanted in him, which were heightened greatly by the superstition of his temper, the influence of ecclesiastics, and political considerations. He viewed those who differed from him, in the important points of ceremonies and church-government, as weak and mean, as dangerous and odious, and worthy his utmost zeal to reclaim or punish; for superstition is generally attended with bigotry, and bigotry is the bane of charity and benevolence. For the bigot is inspired with fervent zeal; he views himself as employed in God's work, and intitled

[a] Life of Charles I. p. 72. See also Wood's Fasti, c. 84. [b] Miscellanies, p. 89. 8vo. Lond. 1696.

which was most excessive. We are not

to his favour and protection, and consequently that the more he labours in it, the greater will his reward be. Whence it comes to pass, that no considerations will stop the hands of such a one; but he will sacrifice every sentiment of humanity, regard to his country, and even his own ease and peace, in order to make men renounce their own sentiments, profess a belief of like sound, and practise rites of the same sort: nor will he be easy himself, or let others have any quiet, if he cannot accomplish it.—Whether Charles was of this character, will be best of all judged from the following authorities.—"The king was always the most punctual observer of all decency in his devotion, and the strictest promoter of the ceremonies of the church, as believing, in his soul, the church of England to be instituted the nearest to the practice of the apostles, and the best for the propagation and advancement of the Christian religion, of any church in the world. And, on the other side, he had the highest dislike and prejudice to that part of his own subjects, who were against the government established; and did always look upon them as a very dangerous and seditious people, who would, under pretence of conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual jurisdiction, take the first opportunity they could find, or make, to withdraw themselves from their temporal subjection: and therefore he had, with the utmost vigilance, caused that temper and disposition to be watched and provided against in England; and, if it were then in truth there, it lurked with wonderful secrecy[a]."

"When he was pressed by the parliament ministers to give way for a small catechism for children, 'I will

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 81.

therefore to wonder at his attention to little

not,' says he, 'take upon me to determine all these texts you quote are rightly applied, and have their true sense given them; and I assure you, gentlemen, I would license a catechism, at a venture, sooner for men than I would for children, because they can judge for themselves: and I make a great conscience to permit, that children should be corrupted in their first principles.'—I remember," says the same author, "one evening his majesty told me, that he should be like a captain that had defended a place well, and his superiors not being able to relieve him, he had leave to surrender it: 'but, (he replied) though they cannot relieve me in the time I demanded it, let them relieve me when they can; else I will hold it out, till I make some stone in this building my tombstone; and so will I do', says he, 'by the church of England[a]."
——And as for the divines or chaplains, who attended on the commissioners from the parliament to the king, when at Holmby-house, we are told, "that the king used them civilly, and conversed with them friendly as private men; but would not let them so much as say grace to him, since they refused to officiate to him by the Liturgy[b]."

The same spirit he retained to the last, according to the author I have so frequently cited in this note. After his condemnation, some ministers, who had adhered to the parliament, came to offer their service to pray with him. His majesty being informed of it by Dr. Juxon, replied, "Thank them from me for the tender of themselves; but tell them plainly, that they that have so often and causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may,

[a] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 327. [b] Idem, p. 297, and Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. II. c. 688.

things, his busying himself about them, and if they please, (and I'll thank them for it) pray for me."

This answer is related by Mr. Herbert in a softer as well as a different manner. "At this time," (Jan. 30.) says he, "came to St. James's Ed. Calamy, Rich. Vines, Jos. Caryl, Will. Dell, and some other London ministers, who presented their duty to the king, with their humble desires to pray with him, and perform other offices of service, if his majesty would please to accept of them. The king returned them thanks for their love to his soul, hoping they and all other good subjects would, in their addresses to God, be mindful of him; but in regard he had made choice of Dr. Juxon, whom for many years he had known to be a pious and learned divine, and able to administer ghostly comfort to his soul, suitable to his present condition, he would have none other[a]." I will conclude my authorities with a few passages from Dr. Perinchief.—"He [Charles] was careful of uniformity, both because he knew the power of just and lawful princes consisted in the union of their subjects, who never are cemented stronger than by an unity of religion. Besides, he saw that there was no greater impediment to a sincere piety, because that time and those parts that might improve godliness to a growth, were all wasted and corrupted in malice and slanders, betwixt the dissenters, about forms. He was more tender in preserving the truths of Christianity, than the rights of his throne.—Thus," adds this writer, "though he could not infuse spiritual graces into the minds of his subjects, yet he would manage their reason by pious arts: and what the example of a king could not do, that his law should, and he would restrain those vices which he could not

[a] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. II. c. 699. fol. Lond. 1721.

employing[17] himself in works, which, though

extirpate[a]."—Here we see zeal for uniformity in rites and modes, a stiff adherence to particular forms, a settled resolution to maintain and impose them, arising from a belief of their being most acceptable to the Deity, and conducive to men's salvation; and also the highest dislike and prejudice against such as were of different sentiments, and endeavours to suppress them: I say, all this we here see, and consequently the bigotry of Charles, which led him to allow of and encourage such severities, on the account of religious opinions, as raised in the minds of his subjects dislike and aversion, and contributed to his ruin, as in the course of this work will appear.

[17] Employing himself in works unworthy of his elevated rank, &c.] A king should act like himself. He should attend to those matters which relate to the welfare and happiness of his people; he should study their genius and manners, and employ his thoughts in devising ways for promoting their grandeur and felicity. Modest merit he should inquire after, arts and sciences he should encourage, useful inventions he should reward, attend to the complaints of his subjects, and readily redress their grievances. In a word, his care should be to distribute equal and impartial justice to those under his rule, and defend them from the insults and oppressions of the nations around them. This, I say, is the duty of a king; and he who would discharge it well, had need give it his time and pains. As for lesser matters, though they may be useful or ornamental in private life, it is not expected a prince should excel in them; much less contend with such as professedly addict themselves to them, and reap emolument from them. What in these is praiseworthy, in a.

[a] Life of King Charles, p. 62.

not blameable in themselves, were unworthy of the elevated rank in which he was placed.

king is mean; below his character, and what must render him but little respectable to those around him. But Charles either understood not this, or acted diametrically contrary to it. "He minded little things too much, and was more concerned in the drawing of a paper, than in fighting a battle[a]."——"Whensoever his secretaries had drawn up, by the direction of the council, declarations or any other papers, and offered them to his perusal, though both they and the council had done their parts, yet he would always with his own hand correct them, both as to matter and form; he commonly using these words when he took the pen in his hand, Come, I am a good cobler: and the corrections were acknowledged by them all to be both for the greater lustre and advantage of the writings[b]." Agreeably hereunto Sir Philip Warwick writes. "Though he was of as slow a pen as of speech, yet both were very significant: and he had that modest esteem of his own parts, that he would usually say, He would willingly make his own dispatches, but that he found it better to be a cobler than a shoemaker. I have been in company with very learned men, when I have brought them their own papers back from him with his alterations, who ever confessed his amendments to have been very material. And I once, by his commandment, brought him a paper of my own to read, to see whether it was suitable to his directions, and he disallowed it slightingly: I desired him I might call Dr. Sanderson to aid me, and that the doctor might understand his own meaning from himself; and with his majesty's leave I brought him, whilst he was walking and taking the air; whereupon

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 71. [b] Perinchief, p. 71.

Lord Clarendon[a] assures us, that he was not in his nature very bountiful, though he

we two went back; but pleased him as little, when we returned it: for smilingly he said, a man might have as good ware out of a chandler's shop: but afterwards he set it down with his own pen very plainly, and suitably to his own intentions[b]." But it will be necessary to be more particular on this head, and therefore I shall give a short detail of the employments in which he busied himself, even sometimes when one would have thought he might have been more profitably engaged.—He took the pains, we are told, to epitomize Laud's book against Fisher[c], and to translate Dr. Sanderson's book *de Juramentis:* he writ many annotations and quotations with his own hand in the margin of his Bible[d], and was at the pains of drawing instructions for his archbishops Abbot and Laud, perusing the accounts they gave of their provinces, and writing marginal notes on them, in which he discovered his bigotry, superstition, and attachment to the priesthood. "I will have no preest have anie necessity of a lay dependancie," says he in one of them. In a second, remarking on Laud's acquainting him that there were some Brownists in his diocess, and that the only remedy was to make the chief seducers be driven to abjure the kingdom, he says, "Informe me of the particulars, and I shall command the judges to make them abjure." I will add only a third, which was made by him upon a complaint against five ministers for not catechising: "I desire," says he, "to know the certainty of this[e]." In short, whoever would know

[a] Vol. V. p. 257. [b] Memoirs, p. 70. [c] Id. p. 82. and Dugdale's Short View, p. 383. [d] Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. II. c. 701.

[e] The Archbishop's Annual Accounts of his Province to the King, at the end of Laud's troubles and trial, by Wharton. Lond. fol. 1695.

gave very much. This appeared more after the duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving; which made those to whom he gave, less sensible of the

the littleness of the mind of Charles, and the attention he paid to trifles, cannot do better than read his instructions about church matters, and his remarks on the accounts he received concerning them.—But to go on.—When his majesty was at Newcastle, in the year 1646, he engaged in a controversy with Mr. Alexander Henderson, a Scotch divine, concerning the change of church-government; in which, after the manner of polemical divines, he debates strenuously against presbytery; declares his opinion that church-government is an essential; that it was of such consequence, as, by the alteration of it, we should deprive ourselves of a lawful priesthood; and then, says he, how the sacraments can be duly administered, is easy to judge[a]. —When the king was at Holdenby, April 23, 1647, he propounded to the parliament's commissioners the following *quære*, Why the new reformers discharge the keeping of Easter? "The reason for this *quære* is, I conceive, the celebration of this feast was instituted by the same authority, which changed the Jewish Sabbath-day into the Lord's-day, or Sunday; for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday: wherefore it must be the church's authority that changed the one, and instituted the other. Therefore my opinion is, that those who will not keep this feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 76.

benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his court very orderly; no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be.

Whether he had much sensibility of temper,

weekly Sunday. When any body can shew me that I am in an error, I shall not be ashamed to confess and amend it: till when you know my mind.

"C. R.[a]."

And at the treaty of Newport, Oct. 2, 1648, we find his majesty employing his pen on the same subject that he had debated before with Henderson at Newcastle. In short, Charles had a good deal of the disputatious temper of his father, and the same itch after the lowest of theological controversies. For how poor a thing is it for a prince to attend to the reasons which are urged for or against episcopacy by polemical divines? How weak to imagine church-government to be an essential, or that the sacraments cannot be duly administered but by the priesthood, ordained in a particular way? A man in Charles's situation, one would have thought, should have studied to have gained friends, to have brought over foes, to have owned and palliated past misconduct, and to have yielded in time to such concessions as might have made him great and his people happy. But to trifle away time on things below a wise man's regard, any farther than as they afford matter of diversion in his very critical circumstances, was inexcusable weakness, and a debasement of character beyond example. It is true, these were the controversies of the age: but controversies of this kind are fit only at all times for the

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 91.

may, perhaps, justly be made a question[18]:

idle, and therefore wholly unworthy of a prince when his crown was at stake, and even his very life in danger.

[18] Whether he had much sensibility of temper, may, perhaps, justly be made a question.] There are several facts recorded of Charles, which seem to shew him not overstocked with compassion at the misfortunes of others, or touched with their calamities. The manner in which he received the news of the murder of Buckingham, has, I know, been looked on as proof of his great piety and devotion; though it might, perhaps, with the same fine imagination, have been made an evidence of his want of feeling. "The news [of Buckingham's death] soon came to court, and the king understood it whilst he was at his morning public devotion, and there he gave an evidence of his composed mind; for he exprest no passion, till the service was ended; and then he retired, and was very sensible of it[a]." This is plainly and naturally told. Let us now see it decorated.—"His majesty was at the public prayers of the church, when Sir John Hippesly came into the room, with a troubled countenance, and without any pause, in respect of the exercise they were performing, went directly to the king, and whispered in his ear what had fallen out. His majesty continued unmoved, and without the least change in his countenance, till prayers were ended: when he suddenly departed to his chamber, and threw himself upon his bed, lamenting, with much passion, and with abundance of tears, the loss he had of an excellent servant, and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him: and he continued in this melancholic discomposure of mind many days[b]." This la-

[a] Warwick, p. 34. [b] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 30.

though certain it is, he had not learned

menting, with much passion and abundance of tears, seems to be an embellishment of the writer; for in Mr. Waller's fine poem, addressed to his majesty on this occasion, we find not a hint of it; but the whole turns on the devotion of Charles, the unmovedness of his mind, and his kindness to the duke's family.

> "He that with thine shall weigh good David's deeds,
> Shall find his passion, not his love exceeds:
> He curst the mountains where his brave friend dy'd,
> But let false Ziba with his heir divide:
> Where thy immortal love to thy blest friends,
> Like that of heav'n, upon their seed descends.
> Such huge extremes inhabit thy great mind,
> Godlike, unmov'd; and yet like woman kind."

The following passage is from Whitlock, of which the reader will judge.——"Prince Rupert, at Cirencester, took 1100 prisoners, and 3000 arms. These prisoners were led in much triumph to Oxford, where the king and lords looked on them, and too many smiled at their misery, being tied together with cords, almost naked, beaten, and driven along like dogs. Among them was a proper handsome man, of a very white skin, where it could be seen for the blood of his wounds: he not being able to go, was set naked upon the bare back of an horse, his wounds gaping, and his body smeared with blood; yet he sat upright upon the horse, with an undaunted countenance, and, when near the king, a brawling woman cried out to him, Ah you traitorly rogue, you are well enough served: he, with a scornful look towards her, answered, You base whore: and instantly dropped off dead from his horse[a]."——"He was seldom, in the times of war, seen to be sorrowful for the slaughter of his people or soldiers, or indeed any thing else (says Lilly), whether by nature

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 67. fol. Lond. 1732.

to sacrifice to the graces [19]. Much has been

or custom his heart was hardened, I leave for others to judge. When unfortunately the parliament had lost some of their men in the West, at Marlborough and the Devizes, and they brought in a miserable condition, without hose or shoes, or scarce cloaths, into Oxford as a triumph, he was content to be a spectator of their calamities; but gave neither order for their relief, or commands for ease of their sufferings: nay, it was noted by some there present, he rejoiced in their sad affliction [a]." Indeed, Sir Philip Warwick assures us, "that the king being informed of Mr. Hambden's being wounded, would have sent him over any chirurgeon of his, if any had been wanting: for (adds he, as the motive) he looked upon his interest, if he could gain his affection, as a powerful means of begetting a right understanding betwixt him and his two houses [b]." What Lord Clarendon therefore meant by ascribing to this monarch a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing [c]; what, I say, he meant by this, will not be easily known by those who consider this king's actions.

[19] He had not learned to sacrifice to the graces.] Politeness and civility, affability and good-nature, though not perhaps essentially necessary to form the character of an honest man or a good prince, yet are they undoubtedly very ornamental, and the want of them occasions many vexations. A prince should be easy of access, kind in his expressions, insinuating in his behaviour; in short, his words and actions should shew the well-bred, good-natured man. But nothing was at a farther distance from this than the behaviour of Charles. Burnet tells us, "he had a grave reserved

[a] Life and Death of K. Charles, p. 14. [b] Memoirs, p. 241.
[c] Vol. V. p. 256.

said by many writers, concerning the ho-

deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and the affability that the nation naturally loved, and to which they had been long accustomed. Nor did he, in his outward deportment, take any pains to oblige any persons whatsoever: so far from that, he had such an ungracious way of shewing favour, that the manner of bestowing it was almost as mortifying as the favour was obliging[a]."

In a letter to his queen, dated 4 May, 1645, he stiles Sir Thomas Fairfax (a man of as meek and humble carriage, says Whitlock, as ever I saw in great[b] employment) "the rebels new brutish general[c]."—It was natural enough for him to stile the parliament at Westminster, with their adherents, rebels; (though it is very remarkable that he never would give the wretches, who perpetrated the Irish massacre, the same appellation, as we shall hereafter shew) but it was great incivility to give the lords and gentlemen who adhered to him at Oxford, and who had ventured their lives and fortunes in his service, the opprobrious title of "our mungril parliament here[d];" and to represent "some of them as too wise, others too foolish, some too busy, others too reserved, many fantastick[e]."—On the 9th of March, 1641, both houses of parliament sent a declaration to the king, who was then at Newmarket, part of which being "read to him by the earl of Holland, his majesty interrupted him in the reading, and said, that's false; which being afterwards touched upon again, his majesty then said, it is a lie.—And on the next day, when his majesty delivered his answer, which was read by the earl of Holland to the rest of the committee [of parliament]; and that being done, his lordship endea-

[a] History of his own Times, p. 25. [b] Memorials, p. 204.
[c] King's Cabinet, p. 3. [d] King's Cabinet Opened, p. 13. [e] Id. p. 8.

nour, probity, and good faith of this prince:

voured to persuade his majesty to come near the parliament: whereunto his majesty answered, I would you had given me cause; but, I am sure, this declaration is not the way to it, and in all Aristotle's Rhetorics there is no such argument of persuasion. The earl of Pembroke thereupon telling him, that the parliament had humbly besought his majesty to come near them, as aforesaid, his majesty replied, that he had learnt by their declaration, that words were not sufficient. His majesty being then again moved, by the said earl of Pembroke, to express what he would have, said, he would whip a boy in Westminster-school, that could not tell that by his answer. And farther said, they were much mistaken, if they thought his answer of that a denial. And being also asked by the said earl of Pembroke, whether the militia might not be granted, as was desired by the parliament, for a time; his majesty swore by God, not for an hour: you have asked that of me in this, was never askt of any king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children[a]."

"When the parliament sent commissioners to Oxford with propositions for peace, which were read by the earl of Denbigh, the king asked the committee if they had power to treat? They replying, that they had no commission to treat, but to receive his majesty's answer in writing, the king replied, Then a letter-carrier might have done as much as you. To which the earl of Denbigh said, I suppose your majesty looks upon us as persons of another condition than letter-carriers. The king said again, I know your condition; but I say that your commission gives you power to do no more than a letter-carrier might have done. And so

[a] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 532.

but if we impartially examine facts, (by

we came away from the king with a little kind of dissatisfaction[a]." The same author goes on afterwards, and tells us, "that the committee who carried the propositions of peace to Oxford, had the king's answer sealed up and sent to them. They, upon advice together, thought it not fit for them to receive an answer in that manner, not being acquainted with what it was, nor a copy of it (as was usual in the like cases) sent with it unto them; and upon this they desired to be excused from receiving that answer so sealed, and made an address to his majesty, that they might know what his answer was, and have a copy of it. To which his majesty replied, What is that to you, who are but to carry what I send, and if I will send the song of Robin Hood and Little John, you must carry it? To which the commissioners only said, that the business about which they came, and were to return with his majesty's answer, was of somewhat more consequence than that song. And other passages there were, which shewed the king to be in no good humour, and were wondered at, in a business especially of this importance, and where the disobliging the commissioners could be of no advantage to the king[b]."——"A word," says Lilly, "dropped out of the king's mouth, lost him the love of the seamen: some being in conference with his majesty, acquainted him, that he was lost in the affection of the seamen; for they intended to petition the house. I wonder, quoth the king, how I have lost the affection of those water-rats[c]."——I will add a passage or two from Warwick, who was informed by Juxon, who attended on his majesty just before his death. "We will not talk, said the king to him, of these rogues (for that was his term) in whose hands I

[a] Whitlock, p. 114. [b] Id. p. 115. [c] Lilly, p. 61.

which alone his character can be ascer-

am: they thirst after my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done. I thank God, I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more. However, the next day, which was the day of his execution, when he had received the eucharist, he rose up from his knees, with a chearful and steddy countenance: Now, says he, let the rogues come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo [a]."

Lord Clarendon, speaking of the conclusion of Charles's first expedition against the Scots, observes, "that he had not dismissed his army with so obliging circumstances as was like to incline them to come willingly together again, if there were occasion to use their service. The earl of Essex, who had merited very well throughout the whole affair, and had never made a false step in action or counsel, was discharged in the crowd, without ordinary ceremony: and an accident happening at the same time, or very soon after, by the death of the lord Aston, whereby the command of the forest of Needwood fell into the king's disposal, which lay at the door of that earl's estate, and would infinitely have gratified him, was denied to him, and bestowed upon another [b]."

What follows is contained in a letter written by Robert lord Spencer, who died in the royal cause, to his lady, just before the siege of Gloucester. "I never saw the king look better: he is very chearful, and, by the bawdy discourse, I thought I had been in the drawing-room [c]."

I think these passages abundantly sufficient to justify the assertion in the text, that his majesty had not learned to sacrifice to the graces; and consequently,

[a] Memoirs, p. 341. [b] Vol. I. p. 124. [c] Sidney's Papers, vol. II. p. 668.

tained) we shall, perhaps, find good reason to doubt of his truth and sincerity [20].

that he was wanting in what would have been not only ornamental, but useful. For the love and good-will of the subjects are essentially necessary to the glory and happiness of a prince: now these are hardly any ways so easily attained, as by a humane and courteous behaviour, which it behoves all to cultivate, in proportion to the rank they bear in life. Men, for the most part, understand words; their pride is flattered by the condescension of their superiors, which seldom fails of attaching them to the interest of those who know how to work on it. Whereas a haughty behaviour, a reserved manner, an ungracious answer, will create aversion in the minds of the bystanders, as well as in those persons who are immediately concerned, and render them cool at least to their interest, if not enemies to their persons. For those who think themselves above all, will be neglected in time by all; nor will they ever be regarded any farther than men find it for their interest to submit to, or assist them.

[20] If we examine facts, we shall find much reason to doubt of his truth and sincerity.] Truth is the bond of society, productive of many good consequences, and at all times admired and applauded by those who chuse not, on occasion, to adhere to it. Princes, above all men, should pay an inviolable regard to it, as highly glorious and salutary: but fraud, dissimulation, and deceit, should be avoided by them, because these sully their characters, and render them vile, odious, and terrible. If honour and virtue were to be banished the world, said Charles the Wise, they ought to find an asylum with princes. And even Machiavel owns, "that though it be not necessary that a prince should have all the good qualities, (among which sincerity is

For certain it is, he asserted what was

reckoned by him) yet it is extremely requisite that he should appear to have them." This is speaking much in their praise. But he adds, "I will venture to affirm, that his having them, and putting them in practice, would be to his prejudice; whereas the putting on the appearance of them, must be for his interest. Let him seem, and let him actually be, merciful, true to his word, humane, religious, and sincere; but at the same time let him have so much command of himself, that, if occasion requires, he may be quite the reverse[a]." And the prince, of whom we are now writing, being advised, in a certain case, to detain a nobleman whom he had called to court, said, "He behoved to be a king of his word[b]." Whether and how far he did as it behoved him to do, is now our business to enquire. —When the Spanish match was broken off by means of Buckingham, and he had determined to satiate his revenge, by causing war against that people to be made, it was thought fit that the whole affair concerning the said match and the Palatinate, and the behaviour of the Spanish court to the prince, should be stated and enlarged upon, in a conference between the two houses, which his highness and the duke were desired to manage. At the conference, the prince made a short introduction to the business, and said some very kind things of the duke, and then referred the whole relation to him. Whereupon Buckingham made a long narration full of falsehoods, and for which, lord Clarendon observes, "he had not the least directions from the king, and a great part whereof he knew to be untrue[c]."——But yet, notwithstanding the falsehoods contained in Buckingham's narration, the prince,

[a] Machiavel's Prince, c. 18. [b] Guthry's Memoirs, p. 31.
[c] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 22.

false, with regard to the transactions in

who was present at it, and assisted him in it, and certified many particulars thereof, attested the truth of it on the spot; "and on its being reported the same day to the house, his highness approved thereof there also:" as did his father soon after, though against his own belief, or rather knowledge[a].—The share Charles had in this affair, tends little to his honour. Mr. Hume, speaking of it, says, "This [Buckingham's] narrative, which, considering the importance of the occasion, and the solemnity of that assembly to which it was delivered, deserves no better name than that of an infamous imposture, was yet vouched for truth by the prince of Wales, who was present; and the king himself lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the parliament, that it was by his order Buckingham laid the whole before them. The conduct of these princes it is difficult to excuse. 'Tis in vain to plead the youth and inexperience of Charles; unless his inexperience and youth, as is probable, really led him into an error, and made him swallow all the gross falsities of Buckingham. And, though the king was here hurried from his own measures by the furious impetuosity of others, nothing should have induced him to prostitute his character, and vouch the impostures of his favourite, of which he had so good reason to entertain a suspicion[b]."—And does Mr. Hume really think it probable that Charles's youth and inexperience led him into an error, and made him swallow all the gross falsities of Buckingham? This, indeed, is vindicating his honesty at the expence of his understanding; but at the same time is such a way of vindicating it, as very few will approve. Buckingham was not wise enough to over-reach Charles, had he been disposed to do it: he could not

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 119, 125, 126, 127. [b] Hume's History of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 103. 4to. Edinb. 1754.

Spain; was worse than his word in a great

impose on his father (a much weaker man) in this matter, much less on the prince, who had been upon the spot with him in Spain, and an eye-witness of the things transacted there. He was, indeed, but in his three and twentieth year; but at the age of twenty-two, or under, a man of tolerable understanding was surely capable of observing matters of fact, and relating them truly: and consequently Charles could not, through youth and inexperience, swallow the gross falsities of Buckingham; but must have been a partner in his infamous imposture.—Charles, on the death of his father, having mounted the throne, gave farther proofs of his want of sincerity, and continued so to do through the course of his unfortunate reign. Williams, lord-keeper of the great seal, having some how or other offended Buckingham, it was determined he should no longer abide in that high office. This the keeper had notice of by the lord Conway, secretary of state, who, at the lord-keeper's desire, asked his majesty his permission for his waiting on him. This request being granted, Williams was admitted into the presence, and made his petitions. For the most part, they were granted, and he retired exceedingly well contented. He thought he had obtained much; but missed all he had sought for, excepting four advowsons to St. John's college in Cambridge, (two of which he had bought with his own money, and two the late king gave him for the good of that society) and could never receive a farthing of his pension of two thousand marks a year, which he had bought for three thousand pounds; nor was he called again to the council-table, as was promised him by his majesty [a]." This is Williams's own account; and as it never was con-

[a] Abridgment of Williams's Life, p. 143.

variety of instances, and those of no small

tradicted, as I know of, to this day, it certainly shews that Charles was not a man of his word.—But we have still stronger and more glaring proofs of his want of openness and sincerity. Mr. Hume, speaking of the commons claiming the execution of the penal laws against catholics in the year 1626, observes, "that in this particular they had, no doubt, some reason to blame the king's conduct. He had promised to the last house of commons a redress of this religious grievance: but he was too apt, in imitation of his father, to consider these promises as temporary expedients, which, after the dissolution of the parliament, he was not any farther to regard[a]." And yet, as we shall presently see, probity and honour are, in the judgment of this writer, to be placed among his most shining qualities!

In the third year of his reign, the commons taking into consideration the grievances and hardships of the subject, and the illegal commitments by the privy council, as well as many other things, after many debates, came to several resolutions, which were inserted in the Bill of Rights, and passed into a law. Charles was very loth to give his assent to it, and made use of a variety of artifices in order to quash it. The lords sent propositions to the commons, in which the prerogative was preserved, and power had an opportunity of oppression, under pretence of reason of state. The lord-keeper assured them, that his majesty had commanded him to let them know, that he held the statute of Magna Charta, and the other six statutes insisted on, for the subjects' liberty, to be all in force; and assured them, that he would maintain all his subjects in the just freedom of their persons,

[a] History of Great Britain, p. 156.

importance; and contradicted his speech by

and safety of their estates; that he would govern them according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that they should find as much security in his majesty's royal word and promise, as in the strength of any law they could make; so that, hereafter, they should have no cause to complain. This would not do: the king therefore sent them a message by Mr. secretary Cook, to know, whether the house would rest on his royal word, declared to them by the lord-keeper? which if they do, he assures them it shall be royally performed. But the commons adhered firmly to their resolution of having a public remedy, as there had been a public violation of the laws and the subjects' liberties, and so, by their speaker, they declared to the king; who then, in no very agreeable manner, by the keeper, told them, "he was content a bill was drawn for a confirmation of Magna Charta, and the other six statutes insisted on for the subjects liberties, if he shall chuse that as the best way, but so as it may be without additions, paraphrases, or explanations." One would have imagined now the bill should have met with no more delays. But the commons were again pressed, by Mr. secretary, to rely on the royal word. The king himself writ a letter to the upper house, in which he declares, "that, without the overthrow of sovereignty, he could not suffer the power of commitment, without shewing cause, to be impeached;" and the lords were for adding a saving to the sovereign power, which was to remain intire. This produced a conference between the houses, who at length agreed; and the petition of Right, June 2, 1628, was read; and the king's answer was thus delivered unto it: "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any

his actions: whereby such an opinion was

wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof, he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative."—This answer no way satisfied the commons, who were very sensible it would render of little use all that they had been doing. But the king sent them word, that he would not alter his answer: though after he was petitioned by both houses, he anwered, *Soit droit comme il est desiré*; which, says Whitlock, satisfied the commons, and all good men[a]. We see here a deal of artifice, craft, dissimulation, and falsehood in this whole affair: and nothing of openness and probity. However, the petition of right being passed into a law, one would have expected the king should have observed it; yet nothing is more certain, than that he not only endeavoured to evade it, but acted directly contrary to it. He called in 1500 copies of the petition, with his answer, which had been printed; and suffered none to be sold that had not additions. He levied the subsidies of tonnage [b] and poundage, though not granted him by parliament; and committed several very eminent men to prison, by warrant of his council, for their speeches in the house. These things were diametrically opposite to what he had just passed into a law, and consequently could not proceed from ignorance or inexperience, but from a disregard to his word and most solemn promises.—Lord Clarendon, speaking of the bill for taking away the bishops' votes, has dropped an hint, which may shew how little Charles's most solemn acts were to be relied on. "*Male posita est lex, quæ tumultuarie posita est*, was one of those positions of Aristotle, which hath never since

[a] Whitlock, p. 10. and Rushworth, vol. I. p. 613. [b] See the petition of right among the statutes.

raised in the minds of his adversaries, of

been contradicted; and was an advantage, that, being well managed, and stoutly insisted upon, would, in spite of all their machinations, which were not yet firmly and solidly formed, have brought them to a temper of being treated with. But I have some cause to believe, that even this argument, which was unanswerable for the rejecting that bill was applied for the confirming it; and an opinion that the violence, and force, used in procuring it, rendered it absolutely invalid and void, made the confirmation of it less considered, as not being of strength to make that act good, which was in itself null. And I doubt this logick had an influence upon other acts of no less moment[a]." This passage did not escape the *diligence* of Rapin, who, after citing it, adds, "Let the reader judge after this, if we may boast of king Charles's sincerity, since even in passing acts of parliament, which is the most authentic and solemn promise a king of England can make, he gave his assent, merely in an opinion, that they were void in themselves, and consequently he was not bound by this engagement[b]."— There is a notable passage in a letter of this king to his queen, dated Oxford, 2 Jan. 1645. "As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction, this in general; if there had been but two (besides myself) of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways, and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation; but thou wilt

[a] Clarendon, vol. II. p. 430.

[b] History of England, vol. II. p. 571. fol. Lond. 1733.

his want of veracity, as rendered them in-

find that it was my misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it[a]."

In a letter from Algernon earl of Northumberland to Robert earl of Leicester, dated London, Dec. 10, 1640, we find the following words: "The king is not very well satisfied with Northumberland, because he will not perjure himself for lord lieutenant [Strafford][b]."

What shall I say more? The king's character was so well established for dissimulation, and want of faith, that we find the parliament, in the remonstrance of May 19, 1642, publicly declaring, that "although they never desired to encourage his majesty to such replies as might produce any contestation between him and his parliament, of which they never found better effect than loss of time, and hindrance of the public affairs; yet they had been far from telling him of how little value his words would be with them, much less when they were accompanied with actions of love and justice. They said, he had more reason to find fault with those wicked counsellors, who had so often bereaved him of the honour, and his people of the fruit of so many gracious speeches which he had made to them, such as those in the end of the last parliament; that, on the word of a king, and as he was a gentleman, he would redress the grievances of his people, as well out of parliament as in it. They asked, if the searching the studies and chambers, yea the pockets of some, both of the nobility and commons, the very next day; the commitment of Mr. Pollasis, Sir John Hotham, and Mr. Crew; the continued oppressions by ship-money, coat and conduct-money; with the manifold imprisonments, and other vexations thereupon, and other ensuing violations of

[a] King's Cabinet, p. 4. [b] Sidney's State-papers, vol. II. p. 665.

disposed to confide in him, even when he

the laws and liberties of the kingdom, (all which were the effects of evil counsel, and abundantly declared in their remonstrance of the state of the kingdom) were actions of love and justice, suitable to such words as those? As gracious was his majesty's speech in the beginning of this parliament: That he was resolved to put himself freely and clearly upon the love and affection of his English subjects. They asked, whether his causeless complaints and jealousies, the unjust imputations so often cast upon his parliament, his denial of their necessary defence by the ordinance of the militia, his dangerous absenting himself from his great council, like to produce such a mischievous division in the kingdom, had not been more suitable to other men's evil counsels, than to his own words? Neither, they said, had his latter speeches been better used, and preserved by those evil and wicked counsellors: Could any words be fuller of love and justice, than those in his answer to the message sent to the house of commons, in the 31st of Decemb. 1641. We do engage unto you solemnly, by the word of a king, that the security of all, and every one of you from violence, is, and ever shall be, as much our care, as the preservation of us and our children? And could any actions be fuller of injustice and violence, than that of the attorney-general, in falsly accusing the six members of parliament, and the other proceedings thereupon, within three or four days after that message? For the full view whereof, they desired the declaration made of those proceedings might be perused."——In another part of the same remonstrance we have the following words: "And whether there were cause of his majesty's great indignation, for being reproached to have intended force or threatning to the parliament, they desired them to consider who should read their declaration, in which

seemed to be most sincere. This was of in-

there was no word tending to any such reproach; and certainly, they said, they had been more tender of his majesty's honour in that point, than he, whosoever he was, that did write that declaration; where, in his majesty's name, he did call God to witness, he never had any such thought, or knew of any such resolution of bringing up the army; which truly, they said, would seem strange to those who should read the deposition of Mr. Goring, the information of Mr. Piercy, and divers other examinations of Mr. Wilmot, Mr. Pollard, and others; the other examination of capt. Leg, Sir Jacob Ashley, and Sir John Conyers; and consider the condition and nature of the petition, which was sent unto Sir Jacob Ashley, under the approbation of C. R. which his majesty had now acknowledged to be his own hand; and being full of scandal to the parliament, might have proved dangerous to the whole kingdom, if the army should have interposed betwixt the king and them, as was desired[a]."—I produce not these passages to prove the truth of the facts referred to in this remonstrance; but merely to shew what opinion the authors of it, the lords and commons, had of his majesty's sincerity. Let me add, that the insincerity of Charles was one probable reason of the loss of his life. It appears, from a paper of Major Huntingdon's, that the king and army were at one time on very good terms, insomuch that his majesty "bid the major tell commissary-general Ireton, with whom he had formerly treated upon the proposals, that he would wholly throw himself upon us [the army], and trust us for a settlement of the kingdom, as we had promised; saying, if we proved honest men, we should without question make the kingdom happy, and save much shedding of

[a] Clarendon, vol. II. p. 547.

finite prejudice to him, and was one great

blood. This message, adds he, from his majesty I delivered to commissary-general Ireton at Colebrooke, who seemed to receive it with joy, saying, that we should be the veriest knaves that ever lived, if in every thing we made not good whatever we had promised, because the king, by not declaring against us, had given us great advantage against our adversaries [the presbyterians][a]." But the inclinations of the chief officers of the army soon changed, and they determined, in the place of the crown to which they had promised to restore him, to bring him to the scaffold, which they put in execution. This sudden change is said to have been owing to the interception of a letter by Cromwell and Ireton, whilst they were in treaty with his majesty. The letter was from the king to the queen, in which he told her, "that he was courted by both factions, the Scotch presbyterians, and the army; and that those which bade the fairest for him, should have him; but yet he thought he should close with the Scotch sooner than with the other. Upon this, finding they were not like to have good terms from the king, they from that time vowed his destruction[b]."—After what has been so largely said in this note, I will leave the reader to make his own remarks on the following passage in Mr. Hume. "Some historians have rashly questioned his [Charles's] good faith: but, for this reproach, the most malignant scrutiny of his conduct, which, in every circumstance, is now thoroughly known, affords not any reasonable foundation. On the contrary, if we consider the extreme difficulties to which he was so frequently reduced, and compare the sincerity of his professions and declarations, we shall avow, that pro-

[a] Thurloe's State-papers, vol. I. p. 96. fol. Lond. 1742. [b] See Hume's History of Great Britain, p. 444, in the note.

cause of his ruin! In his early youth he was

bity and honour ought justly to be placed among his most shining qualities. In every treaty, those concessions, which he thought in conscience he could not maintain, he never could, by any motive or persuasion, be induced to grant. And though some violations of the petition of Rights may be imputed to him, these are more to be ascribed to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of his principles[a]."

In the beginning of the note I have quoted Machiavel; I will now add another passage from him. "It has appeared by experience in our times," says he, "that those princes who made light of their word, and artfully deceived mankind, have all along done great things, and have at length got the better of such as proceeded upon honourable principles." But however it was in his times, it was not so with regard to Charles. His making light of his word, and artfully deceiving his subjects, produced to him innumerable woes. His character, in this respect, being once established, his adversaries gave no heed to his words, protestations, oaths, or actions, as judging that he was not to be bound by them. Hence a civil war arose, which ended in his destruction. Princes therefore should at all times act with honour, and scorn to be worse than their words; for let them dissemble ever so dextrously, there are those who will find them out, and expose them, and then adieu to their reputation and influence. —"The extreme curiosity of the public is well known; it is a being that sees every thing, hears every thing, and divulges whatsoever it has heard or seen. If its curiosity examines the conduct of particular men, 'tis only to fill up idle hours; but if it considers the cha-

[a] Hume's History of Great Britain, p. 469.

observed to be very obstinate[21]; and stiff

racters of princes, 'tis with an eye to its own interest. And, indeed, princes are more exposed than all other men to the conjectures, comments, and judgments of the world: they are a sort of stars, at which a whole people of astronomers are continually levelling their telescopes and cross-staves; courtiers, who are near them, are daily taking their observations; a single gesture, a single glance of the eye, discovers them; and the people who observe them at a greater distance, magnify them by conjectures. In short, as well may the sun hide his spots, as great princes their vices, and their genuine character, from the eyes of so many curious observers. If the mask of dissimulation should cover, for a time, the natural deformity of a prince, yet he could never keep his mask always on: he would sometimes be obliged, was it only for a breathing, to throw it off; and one view of his naked features would be sufficient to content the curious. It will therefore be in vain for dissimulation to dwell in the mouths of princes: craftiness in their discourses, and actions will have no effect: to judge of men by their words and professions, would be the way to be always mistaken: we therefore compare their actions with one another, and then with their words; and against this repeated examination, falsity and deceit will find no refuge. No man can well act any part but his own; he must really have the same character which he would bear in the world: without this, the man who thinks to impose on the public, imposes upon none but himself[a]."

[21] In his early youth he was observed to be very obstinate, &c.] Here are my proofs.—"His childhood," says Perinchief, "was blemished with a supposed ob-

[a] Anti-Machiavel, p. 192. 8vo. Lond. 1741. See also Gordon's Discourses on Tacitus, vol. IV. p. 331. 12mo. Lond. 1753.

he remarkably was during his whole reign:

stinacy: for the weakness of his body inclining him to retirements, and the imperfection of his speech rendering discourse tedious and unpleasant, he was suspected to be somewhat perverse [a]."——Lilly tells us, "he was noted to be very wilful and obstinate by queen Anne his mother, and some others who were then about him: his mother being then told he was very sick and like to die, said, he would not then die, or at that time; but live to be the ruin of himself, and the occasion of the loss of his three kingdoms, by his too much wilfulness. —The old Scottish lady his nurse was used to affirm as much, and that he was of a very evil nature, even in his infancy; and the lady, who after took charge of him, cannot deny it, but that he was beyond measure wilful and unthankful [b]."——Perinchief, after taking notice of his supposed obstinacy, adds, "But more age and strength fitting him for manlike exercises, and the public hopes inviting him from his privacies, he delivered the world from such fears. His tenacious humour he left with his retirements, none being more desirous of good council, nor any more obsequious when he found it; yea, too distrustful of his own judgment, which the issue of things proved always best when it was followed." The reader will judge of the truth of this by and by.—"I have heard my father," says Coke, "(though not a courtier, yet acquainted with many courtiers) say, that they would oft pray to God, that the prince might be in the right way where he set; for if he were in the wrong, he would prove the most wilful of any king that ever reigned [c]."—I will produce a few more proofs, to set this matter beyond

[a] Life of K. Charles, p. 2. [b] Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles, p. 2. [c] Coke's Detection, vol. I. p. 211. Lond. 8vo. 1694.

though most writers agree that he was easily governed by his favourites, who frequently

all doubt. In the year 1627, it is well known, many gentlemen were imprisoned for refusing the loan, on account of its illegality; among these, many feared would be Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford. In order to bring him to a compliance with the king's measures, his brother-in-law, the lord Clifford, writes to him in these words: "My dear brother, I cannot hope to see you receive the least favour, that the great ones can abridge you of, if you still refuse; neither dare any move the king in the behalf of any gentleman refuser; for his heart is so inflamed in this business, as he vows a perpetual remembrance, as well as present punishment. And though the duke [Buckingham] will be shortly gone, yet no man can expect to receive any ease by his absence, since the king takes the punishment into his own direction[a]."

In a letter to the queen, dated Oxford, Jan. 9, 44, after telling her that Uxbridge was appointed for the place of treaty between him and the parliament, he adds, in a postscript, "The settling of religion, and the militia, are the first to be treated on: and be confident, that I will neither quit episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into my hands[b]." And we find in Laud's Diary, "that he being terrified, by reason of some speeches uttered, that there must be a parliament, some must be sacrificed, and he as like as any, he told it; whereupon the king said, Let me desire you not to trouble yourself with any reports, till you see me forsake my other friends[c]." In short, Charles was very determined in all his affairs, and was

[a] Letters and Dispatches of Thomas Earl of Strafford, vol. I. p. 38. fol. Lond. 1739. [b] King's Cabinet, p. 1. [c] Laud's Diary, by Wharton, p. 42.

gave him counsel no way salutary to his affairs.

not easily moved from his resolutions by any but his favourites. Lord Clarendon observes, "that he had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him often change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself." Burnet tells us, "that he was out of measure set on following his humour, but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the queen[a]." And we find in fact, that stiff as he was in the matter of the loan, he relinquished it by act of parliament, though he soon returned to the practice of it; "that he consented to confirm by act of parliament in England, presbyterian government, the directory for worship, and the assembly of divines at Westminster for three years[b]." And that, notwithstanding his steadiness to his friends, he gave up Strafford to the block. After the civil war commenced, "many endeavours were used from time to time, to bring matters to an accommodation by way of treaty: but still some one unlucky accident or other rendered them all abortive. At the treaty of Uxbridge, though the parliament's demands were high, and the king shewed a more than ordinary aversion to comply with them; yet the ill posture of the king's affairs at that time, and the fatal consequences they feared would follow upon breaking off of the treaty, obliged a great many of the king's friends, and more particularly that noble person the earl of Southampton, who had gone post from Uxbridge to Oxford for that purpose, to press the king again and again, upon their knees, to yield to the necessity of the times; and by giving his assent to some of the most material propositions that

[a] Burnet, p. 70. [b] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 103.

His understanding was far enough from being despicable [22], his enemies themselves

were sent him, to settle a lasting peace with his people. The king was at last prevailed with to follow their counsel; and the next morning was appointed for signing a warrant to his commissioners to that effect. And so sure were they of a happy end of all differences, that the king at supper complaining that his wine was not good, one told him merrily, he hoped his majesty would drink better before the week was over, at Guildhall with the lord-mayor. But so it was, that when they came early to wait upon him with the warrant, that had been agreed upon over-night, they found his majesty had changed his resolution, and was become inflexible in these points [a]." Bishop Burnet gives us pretty near the same account, which he received, he says, from lord Hollis [b].

I shall conclude this note with the words of Mr. Hume. "There are two circumstances in his character, seemingly incompatible, which attended him during the whole course of his reign, and were the chief cause of all his misfortunes: he was very steady, and even obstinate in his purpose; and he was easily governed, by reason of his facility, and of his deference to men, much inferior to himself both in morals and understanding. His great ends he inflexibly maintained: but the means of attaining them, he readily received from his ministers and favourites, though not always fortunate in his choice [c]."

[22] His understanding was far enough from being despicable, &c.] Some of the following quotations prove the truth of what is contained in the foregoing

[a] Welwood, p. 45. [b] Burnet, vol. I. p. 55. [c] Hume's History, vol. I. p. 158.

being judges: and, if we will believe his

note, and will serve as a supplement to it. As they tend to illustrate the character of Charles, they cannot be omitted; and I doubt not the reader will be pleased with them. "Had his judgment been as sound, as his conception was quick and nimble," says Lilly, "he had been a most accomplished gentleman; and though in most dangerous results, and extraordinary serious consultations, and very material, either for state or commonwealth, he would of himself give the most solid advice, and sound reasons, why such or such a thing should be so, or not so; yet was he most easily withdrawn from his own most wholsome and sound advice or resolutions; and with as much facility drawn on, inclined, to embrace a far more unsafe, and nothing so wholsome a counsel. He would argue logically, and frame his arguments artificially; yet never almost had the happiness to conclude or drive on a design in his own sense, but was ever baffled by meaner capacities[a]."—In the Dedication to his Majesty of the first part of the History of Independency, Mr. Walker hints his opinion of the king's understanding, and his liableness to be drawn aside by two sorts of men, to enlarge the prerogative to his own hurt. Let us hear him in his own words. "God hath cursed him that removeth the bound-marks of his neighbour: this is a comprehensive curse: kings, enlarging their prerogatives beyond their limits, are not excepted from it. You may be pleased to take heed therefore of two sorts of men, most likely to mislead you in this point; ambitious lawyers, who teach the law to speak, not what the legislators meant, but what you shall seem to desire.—The second sort is parasitical divines: these ear-

[a] Lilly's Observations, p 11.

friends and admirers, he was adorned with

wigs are always hovering in princes courts, hanging in their ears. They take upon them to make princes beholding to their violent wresting of the text, to bestow upon them whatever prerogative the kings of Juda and Israel used or usurped; as if the judicials of Moses were appointed by God for all commonwealths, all kings: as a good bishoprick or living is fit for every priest that can catch it. These men having their best hopes of preferment from princes, make divinity to be but *organon politicum*, an instrument of government, and harden the hearts of princes, Pharaoh-like: kings delight to be tickled by such venerable warrantable flattery. Sir, you have more means to prefer them than other men, therefore they apply themselves more to you than other men do. *Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ille Deum.* The king makes the poor priest a lord, and rather than he will be behind with the king in courtesie, he will flatter him above the condition of a mortal, and make him a god royal. Sir, permit me to give you this antidote against this poison; let an act be passed, that all such divines as either by preaching, writing, or discoursing, shall advance your prerogative and power above the known laws and liberties of the land, forfeit all his ecclesiastical preferments *ipso facto*, and be incapable ever after, and for ever banished your court. But above all, learn to trust in your judgment. *Plus aliis de te quam tu tibi credere noli:* God hath enabled you to remember things past, to observe things present, and, by comparing them together, to conjecture things to come: which are the three parts of wisdom that will much honour and advantage you[a]."

Pity but princes had more frequently such honest advice given them!—The next authority shall be that

[a] Walker's History of Independency, part I. printed 1648. 4to.

very many amiable qualities, and was master

of Mr. Whitlock, which I will transcribe at large. "In this treaty, [at Oxford, 1643] the king manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them. His unhappiness was that he had a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own, though they were weaker than his own; and of this we had experience to our great trouble. We were often waiting on the king, and debating some points of the treaty with him, until midnight, before we could come to a conclusion. Upon one of the most material points we pressed his majesty with our reasons, and best arguments we could use, to grant what we desired. The king said he was fully satisfied, and promised to give us his answer in writing, according to our desire; but, because it was then past midnight, and too late to put it into writing, he would have it drawn up the next morning (when he commanded us to wait on him again), and then he would give us his answer in writing, as it was now agreed upon. We went to our lodgings full of joyful hopes to receive this answer the next morning, and which being given, would have much conduced to a happy issue, and success of this treaty, and we had the king's word for it, and we waited on him the next morning at the hour appointed. But instead of that answer, which we expected, and were promised, the king gave us an answer quite contrary to what was concluded the night before, and very much tending to the breach of the treaty. We did humbly expostulate this with his majesty, and pressed him upon his royal word, and the ill consequences which we feared would follow upon this his new paper. But the king told us,

of accomplishments [23] which are esteemed in the world, and looked on as ornamental.

he had altered his mind, and that this paper which he now gave us was his answer, which he was now resolved to make upon our last debate. And we could obtain no other from him, which occasioned much trouble and sadness to us. Some of his own friends of whom we enquired touching this passage, informed us, that after we were gone from the king, and that his council were also gone away, some of his bedchamber (and they went higher) hearing from him what answer he had promised us, and doubting it would tend to such an issue of the treaty as they did not wish, they being rather for the continuance of the war, never left pressing and persuading of the king, till they prevailed with him to change his former resolutions, and to give order for his answer to be drawn, as it was delivered to us [a]." This narrative of Whitlock's, whose authority is beyond all exception, (though engaged on the side of the parliament, and a commissioner in this and other treaties with the king for it) proves not only what I principally intended it for, the good understanding of Charles, but also his liableness to be drawn aside from his resolutions, by those in whom he confided, as well as his disregard to his royal word, and therefore may be looked on as further proof of his want of sincerity, of which we have spoken pretty largely in note 20.

[23] If we believe his friends, he was adorned with many amiable qualities, &c.] "He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best christian, that the age in which he lived produced [b]." And according to Perinchief, he "was religious, just, and clement; possessed of fortitude, patience, and humility; a lover of

[a] Whitlock, p. 68. [b] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 259.

Every one knows that there goes under his name a very large folio volume inti-

his subjects, obliging in his conversation, true to his word, chaste, temperate, and frugal." A fine picture! pity it was not true! But princes, even when dead, have incense offered before their shrines, and their praises high sounded, if they have been the benefactors of those who attempt their characters! Such is the force of interest! It blinds the understanding, warps the affections, and causes even men of sense and virtue to say things, perhaps honestly, which will not bear the scrutiny.

'Tis from high life high characters are drawn;
A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn;
A judge is just, a chanc'lor juster still;
A gownman learn'd; a bishop what you will:
Wise if a minister; but if a king,
More wise, more learn'd, more just, more ev'ry thing.

POPE.

I will not, therefore, enter into an examination of these superlative praises bestowed on Charles: the reader by what he has seen, and will further see, will be enabled fully to judge of them.—As to his accomplishments, I will give them from writers who may be supposed to have known them, and who therefore are the fittest to be attended to. "He understood Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian authors in their original languages, which three last he spake perfectly, no man being better read in histories of all sorts, being also able to discourse in most arts and sciences[a]."—— "With any artist or good mechanic, traveller, or scholar, he would discourse freely; and as he was commonly improved by them, so he often gave light to them in their own art or knowledge. For there were few gentlemen in the world, that knew more of useful or neces-

[a] Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in England, fol. p. 383. Oxon. 1681.

tuled ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ. The works of king Charles

sary learning than this prince: and yet his proportion of books was but small, having, like Francis I. of France, learnt more by the ear than by study.—His exercises were manly; for he rid the great horse very well; and on the little saddle he was not only adroit, but a laborious hunter or fieldman: and they were wont to say of him, that he failed not to do any of his exercises artificially, but not very gracefully; like some well-proportioned faces, which yet want a pleasant air of countenance[a]."—"He was well skilled in things of antiquity, could judge of medals whether they had the number of years they pretended unto. His libraries and cabinets were full of those things on which length of time put the value of rarities. In painting he had so excellent a fancy, that he would supply the defect of art in the workman, and suddenly draw those lines, give those airs and lights, which experience and practice had not taught the painter. He could judge of fortifications, and censure whether the cannon were mounted to execution or no. He had an excellent skill in guns, knew all that belonged to their making. The exactest arts of building ships for the most necessary uses of strength or good sailing, together with all their furniture, were not unknown to him. He understood and was pleased with the making of clocks and watches. He comprehended the art of printing. There was not any one gentleman of all the three kingdoms, that could compare with him in an universality of knowledge. He encouraged all the parts of learning, and he delighted to talk with all kinds of artists, and with so great a facility did apprehend the mysteries of their professions, that he did sometimes say, he thought he could get his living, if necessitated, by any trade he

[a] Warwick, p. 65, 66.

the Martyr, though very little contained

knew of, but making of hangings: although of these he understood much, and was greatly delighted in them; for he brought some of the most curious workmen from foreign parts, to make them here in England[a]."——I will add what Dr. Welwood has said on this head, that the reader may want nothing to form his judgment on the accomplishments of Charles. "He had a good taste for learning, and a more than ordinary skill in the liberal arts, especially painting, sculpture, architecture, and medals; and being a generous benefactor to the most celebrated masters in those arts, he acquired the noblest collection of any prince in his time, and more than all the kings of England had done before him.—He spoke several languages very well, and with singular good grace; though now and then, when he was warm in discourse, he was inclinable to stammer. He writ a tolerable hand for a king; but his sense was strong, and his stile laconick, and yet he seldom wrote in any language but English. Some of his manifestoes, declarations, and other public papers he drew himself, and most of them he corrected. In comparing those of the king with the parliament's, one would be easily inclined to prefer, for the most part, the king's for the strength of reasoning and the force of expression. I have seen several pieces of his own hand, and therefore may the better affirm, that, both for matter and form, they surpass those of his ablest ministers, and come nothing short of Strafford or Falkland, the two most celebrated pens of that time[b]."

I will add another accomplishment of Charles's, which is much to his honour; I mean, his skill and knowledge in the laws of the land over which he bare

[a] Perinchief, p. 70. [b] Welwood, p. 49, 51.

therein, came from his pen. The writings attributed to him, with any shew of justice,

rule.—"I do not know, says he on his trial, the forms of law; I do know law and reason, though I am no lawyer professed; but I know as much law as any gentleman in England[a]."—I will conclude my citations with Lilly, though he cannot be placed among the friends and admirers of this prince. "To speak truly of him, he had many singular parts in nature; he was an excellent horseman, would shoot well at a mark, had singular skill in limning and pictures, a good mathematician, not unskilful in musick, well read in divinity, excellently in history, and no less in the laws and statutes of this nation; he had a quick and sharp conception, would write his mind singularly well, and in good language and stile, only he loved long parentheses. He would apprehend a matter in difference between party and party with great readiness, and methodize a long matter, or contract it in few lines; insomuch as I have heard Sir Robert Holborne oft say, he had a quicker conception, and would sooner understand a case in law, or with more sharpness drive a matter unto a head, than any of his privy-council; insomuch that when the king was not at council-table, Sir Robert never cared to be there[b]." I think after all that has been here produced, we cannot but allow to Charles much personal merit. Had his integrity and uprightness, and regard to the laws of his country, by whose authority he was constituted supreme governor, been equal to many other accomplishments and virtues wherewith he was adorned, he would have possessed a very considerable character: but unhappily for himself, unhappily for the nation, it was not so. By which means it came to pass that his abilities were little ad-

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 195.

[b] Lilly, p. 3.

I [24] will mention with all impartiality, and give the opinions of several writers concern-

mired, his capacity was unserviceable or hurtful, and his people taught by dear experience to know, that it was possible for a prince with many virtues to be guilty of great acts of oppression and injustice.

[24] The writings attributed to him with any shew of justice, I will mention with all impartiality.] The folio volume that goes under the title of King Charles's Works has had two impressions, the one in 1660, the other in 1687. It contains the life of Charles I. Papers concerning church-government. Prayers used by his majesty. Messages for peace. Declarations. Letters. Speeches. The history of his trial and death. This is the first part. The second is composed of his majesty's declarations concerning his proceedings in his four first parliaments. Declarations and papers concerning the treaty of peace at Oxford. Declarations and papers concerning the differences betwixt his majesty and his fifth parliament. A declaration concerning the cessation in Ireland: also declarations and passages of the parliament at Oxford. Papers and messages concerning the treaty of peace at Uxbridge. Messages, propositions, and treaties for peace: with divers resolutions and declarations thereupon. An appendix containing the papers which passed betwixt his majesty and the divines which attended the commissioners of the two houses at the treaty of Newport, concerning church-government. ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. The portraiture of his sacred majesty in his solitudes and sufferings.

In a passage quoted in the preceding note, Dr. Welwood affirms, that some of the manifestoes, declarations, and public papers, Charles drew himself; and if so, they are rightly placed in his works: but it is much

ing them. The letters contained in this vo-

more probable, according to Warwick's account[a], that he only corrected them; and therefore they ought not to have been attributed to him. What then may we certainly affirm to be his majesty's works in this collection?—If we set aside the Icon Basilike, of which I shall speak more at large soon, we shall be forced to acknowledge they are very inconsiderable. For they consist only of his letters to several persons, passages of which I have frequently quoted; papers concerning church-government, and a few prayers. For his speeches, I reckoned them as the speeches of his ministers, though they doubtless were conformable to his own sentiments. The collection of letters were taken at Naseby, June 14, 1645, "when his majesty was compelled to quit the field, and to leave Fairfax master of all his foot, cannon, and baggage, amongst which was his own cabinet, where his most secret papers were, and letters between the queen and him: of which they shortly after made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their natures, and published them in print; that is, so much of them as they thought would asperse either of their majesties, and improve the prejudices they had raised against them, and concealed other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them[b]." It is very surprising lord Clarendon would talk after this manner. Charles himself complains of no barbarity in his letter to secretary Nicholas, which I have elsewhere quoted: he does not pretend to say that they had published them partially, or that they concealed other parts which would have vindicated him and his queen from many particulars with which they had aspersed them: yea, he was so far from

[a] See note 17. [b] Clarendon, vol. IV. p. 658.

lume, to the several persons to whom they

thinking the publication of them an aspersion, "that as a good protestant, or an honest man, he would not blush for any of those papers[a]."—But his lordship loved to asperse his enemies, and therefore would sometimes invent, in order to blacken! What further proves the charge of concealing those parts which would have vindicated their majesties, to be false, is, that those parts were never produced to the world, when his letters were reprinted among his works after the restoration, and therefore may well be supposed never to have existed.—Ludlow, speaking of these letters, gives a very just account of some of their contents; but adds, "many more letters there were relating to the public, which were printed with observations, by order of the parliament; and others of no less consequence suppressed, as I have been credibly informed by some of those that were intrusted with them, who, since the king's return, have been rewarded for it[b]." This does not appear to me very probable. —Let us now hear Mr. Hume. "Among the other spoils, was seized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published. They chose, no doubt, such of them as they thought would reflect most dishonour upon him: yet upon the whole, the letters are wrote with great delicacy and tenderness, and give a very advantageous idea both of the king's genius and morals. A mighty fondness, and attachment, it is true, he expresses to his consort, and often professes that he never would embrace measures disagreeable to her. But such declarations of civility and confidence are not always to be taken in a literal sense: and so legitimate

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 155. [b] Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 156. Switzerland, 1698. 8vo.

are addressed; the quære concerning Eas-

an affection, avowed by the laws of God and man, may, perhaps, be excusable towards a woman of beauty and spirit, even though she was a papist. The Athenians having intercepted a letter wrote by their enemy, Philip of Macedon, to his wife Olympia, so far from being moved by curiosity of prying into the secrets of that alliance, immediately sent the letter to the queen unopened. Philip was not their sovereign, nor were they inflamed with that violent animosity against him, which attends all civil commotions[a]." The charge of lord Clarendon against the editors of these letters is here passed over in silence: what was thought by friends and foes to reflect highly on Charles, is now said to give a very advantageous idea both of the king's genius and morals, and an inexcusable attachment to the councils, and submission to the rule, of a violent unskilful woman, is glossed over with the title of a legitimate affection towards a woman of beauty and spirit! Surely Mr. Hume did not consider that these letters were in every one's hands!—Milton, I believe, in the judgment of the unprejudiced, will be thought to talk not unreasonably on the publication of these letters. "The king's letters, taken at the battle of Naseby, being of the greatest importance to let the people see what faith there was in all his promises and solemn protestations, were transmitted to public view by special order of the parliament. They discovered his good affection to the papists and Irish rebels, the strict intelligence he held, the pernicious and dishonourable peace he made with them, not solicited, but rather soliciting, which, by all invocations that were holy, he had in public abjured. They revealed his endeavours to bring in foreign forces, Irish, French,

[a] Hume's History, p. 407.

ter, of which I have before spoken, as well

Dutch, Lorrainers, and our old invaders the Danes, upon us; besides his subtilties and mysterious arts in treating. To sum up all, they shewed him governed by a woman. All which, though suspected vehemently before, and from good grounds believed, yet by him and his adherents peremptorily denied, were by the opening of that cabinet visible to all men, under his own hand. The parliament therefore, to clear themselves of aspersing him without cause, and that the people might no longer be abused and cajoled, as they call it, by falsities and court-impudence, in matters of so high concernment, to let them know on what terms their duty stood, and the kingdom's peace, conceived it most expedient and necessary that those letters should be made publick[a]." These letters left deep impressions on the minds of men in that age, as we may learn from the following passage of Mr. Symmons, in the address to the reader, prefixed to his large answer to them.—" I was solicited by some friends from the farthest part of the kingdom to put it [his answer] to the press, now I was in a place where the same might be done; who also informed me, that (in their apprehensions) vulgar hearts wanted satisfaction in nothing concerning the king's integrity, but only in the matter of those letters, which did still scruple many of them[b]." And the editor of Ludlow's memoirs was so sensible of their importance, in order to justify the transactions of the opponents of Charles, that he reprinted them, with some other letters, at the end of that work: and they continue to make a part of the last edition of those memoirs, printed in folio at London, and the Scotch edition in three volumes in

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 465. [b] Vindication of King Charles, 4to. 1648.

as the papers concerning church-govern-

twelves; and are likewise inserted in the seventh volume of the Harleian Miscellany.

I had almost forgot to inform the reader, that some of the most important instructions contained in the genuine edition of the King's Cabinet Opened, published by order of the parliament, are omitted in the collection of his majesty's works, printed after the restoration, as will be seen in the note 26.

As for the papers concerning church-government, they are said to be very well drawn, and procured the king no small reputation; and, if we may believe some writers, those against Mr. Henderson were so very efficacious as to occasion his death.—"At the king's first coming to Newcastle," says bishop Kennet, "Mr. Henderson, a Scotch presbyter, came as an agent from the Kirk, and much importuned his majesty to pass the propositions. His majesty affirmed to him, that he could not in conscience consent to several things therein contained; especially as to the change of church-government from the primitive order of episcopacy; and condescended to have several conferences with him, and to let several papers pass between them upon this subject; which being faithfully printed, do demonstrate the king's great abilities, and his incomparable knowledge in these controversies; being at a time when he had few or no books, and could not have the assistance of any chaplain. Mr. Henderson returned from Newcastle to Edinburgh, with a serious conviction of his majesty's integrity and learning, and died about the end of August, much lamented by those of his party, who themselves suspected that his death was owing to his dissatisfaction in his late trial of skill with his majesty." The lord Clarendon expresses it thus: "The king was so much too hard for Mr. Henderson in the argumentation, that the old man

ment, we may safely enough attribute to his

himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidents, and died of grief and heart-broken within a very short time after he departed from his majesty[a]." I will not detract any thing from the merit of Charles's papers at Newcastle; but the bishop and lord Clarendon were certainly a little too hasty, when they attributed such effects to them. Disputants, veteran ones, as Henderson was, have generally too good a conceit of their own abilities, to think themselves overcome; and though the awe of majesty may silence, it seldom persuades them. To attribute the death of this divine to the ill success of his dispute with the king, is just as wise as it was to make him the author of the declaration concerning the "abilities and virtues of the same monarch, particularly his devotion, magnanimity, charity, sobriety, chastity, patience, humility[b];" which the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, held at Edinburgh, Aug. 7, 1648, declare to be a forgery, falsehood, and lying[c].—Burnet's account of these papers is greatly to the honour of Charles, though he was too wise to intermix any thing of the marvellous in his story.—"During the month of June, 1646, papers passed to and again betwixt the king and Henderson; of which, they being so often published, I shall say no more, but that from these it appears, had his majesty's arms been as strong as his reason was, he had been every way unconquerable, since none have the disingenuity to deny the great advantages his majesty

[a] Complete History of England, vol. III. p. 152. fol. Lond. 1706. [b] Kennet, vol. III. p. 174. [c] See Truth brought to Light, or the Gross Forgeries of Dr. Hollingworth, London, 1693. 4to.

majesty; for friends and foes unanimously had in all these writings. And this was when the help of his chaplains could not be suspected, they being so far from him. And it is, indeed, strange to see a prince not only able to hold up with, but so far to out-run so great a theologue, in a controversy which had exercised his thoughts and studies for so many years. And that the king drew with his own hand all his papers, without the help of any, is averred by the person who alone was privy to the interchanging of them, that worthy and accomplished gentleman Sir Robert Murray, who at that time was known to his majesty;—him therefore did his majesty employ in that exchange of papers, being all written with his own hand, and in much less time than Mr. Henderson did his. They were given by his majesty to Sir Robert Murray to transcribe: the copies, under Sir Robert Murray's hand, were by him delivered to Mr. Henderson; and Mr. Henderson's hand not being so legible as his, he, by the king's appointment, transcribed them for his majesty, and by his majesty's permission kept Mr. Henderson's papers, and the copies of the king's, as was signified to the writer by himself, a few days before his much lamented death[a]." Sir Philip Warwick gives his judgment of these papers very plainly. "Whilst the king resided at Newcastle, passed that controversy between him and Henderson about the order of episcopacy, and what obligation his coronation-oath laid upon him; which papers being printed, shew his great ability and knowledge, when he was destitute of all aids[b]." Thus speak these writers concerning his majesty's controversy with Henderson. But whatever the real merit of his papers

[a] Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 277. fol. Lond. 1677.
[b] Memoirs, p. 295.

agree that he was the author of them.

be, it is remarkable they have been little read, and are seldom or ever quoted on the subject of episcopacy. I have turned over Stillingfleet's Irenicum, and his Unreasonableness of Separation, in which church-government is at large discussed; I have looked into Hoadley's Defence of Episcopal Ordination, and many other volumes; but can find him seldom or ever named. So that, it is possible, these learned churchmen had not so great an opinion of the arguments made use of by Charles in these papers, as the historians I have quoted.

Charles is celebrated by his panegyrists for his devotion, as we have already seen; and to convince the world of the truth and reality of it, the editor of his works has given us a collection of "Prayers used by his majesty in the time of his troubles and restraint[a]." But this title does not suit several of them. The first being "a prayer used by his majesty, at his entrance in state into the cathedral church of Exeester, after the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall." The second is styled "a prayer drawn by his majesty's special direction and dictates, for a blessing on the treaty at Uxbridge." The third is "a prayer drawn by his majesty's special directions, for a blessing on the treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight." A fourth is "a prayer for the pardon of sin." The fifth is "a prayer and confession in and for the times of affliction." In this there are these very remarkable expressions: "Of all men living, I have most need, most reason so to do, [to confess his sins] no man living having been so much obliged by thee; that degree of knowledge which thou hast given me, adding likewise to the guilt of my transgressions. For was it through ignorance that I

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 93.

The prayers may be his, though his friends

suffered innocent blood to be shed, by a false pretended way of justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy worship to be set up in Scotland, and injured the bishops in England? O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the dictates of a well-informed conscience[a]."—But to go on: the sixth prayer is styled "a prayer in time of captivity;" and the seventh "a prayer in time of imminent danger."—The "prayer in time of captivity," is too remarkable to be slightly passed over. It was printed at the end of some editions of Icon Basilike, among other prayers of Charles's, and by the quick-sighted Milton (who was well versed in romances) was found to be taken from the prayer of Pamela, in Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. Hear his words. "In praying therefore, and in the outward work of devotion, this king we see had not at all exceeded the worst of kings before him. But herein the worst of kings, professing Christianism, have by far exceeded him. They, for aught we know, have still prayed their own, or at least borrowed from fit authors. But this king not content with that which, although in a thing holy, is no holy theft, to attribute to his own making other men's whole prayers, hath as it were unhallowed and unchristened the very duty of prayer itself, by borrowing to a Christian use prayers offered to a heathen god. Who would have imagined so little fear in him of the true all-seeing Deity; so little reverence of the Holy Ghost, whose office is to dictate and present our Christian prayers; so little care of truth in his last words, or honour to himself or to his friends, or sense of his afflictions, or of that sad hour which was upon him; as, immediately

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 94.

would, many of them, have been glad

before his death, to pop into the hand of that grave bishop who attended him, as a special relique of his saintly exercises, a prayer, stolen word for word from the mouth of a heathen woman, praying to a heathen god; and that in no serious book, but in the vain amatorious poem of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia; a book in that kind full of worth and wit, but among religious thoughts and duties not worthy to be named; nor to be read at any time without good caution, much less in time of trouble and affliction, to be a Christian's prayer-book? It hardly can be thought upon without some laughter, that he who had acted over us so stately and so tragically, should leave the world at last with such a ridiculous exit, as to bequeath among his deifying friends that stood about him, such a piece of mockery to be published by them, as must needs cover both his and their heads with shame and confusion. And sure it was the hand of God that let them fall, and be taken in such a foolish trap, as hath exposed them to all derision, if for nothing else, to throw contempt and disgrace in the sight of all men, upon this his idolized book [Icon Basilike], and the whole rosary of his prayers; thereby testifying how little he accepted them from those who thought no better of the living God than of a buzzard idol, that would be served and worshipped with the polluted trash of romances and Arcadias, without discerning the affront so irreligiously and so boldly offered him to his face[a]."

In the second edition of Iconoclastes, Milton makes some large additions to his observations on the plagiarism of Charles. They are too long to be here repeated; but what follows I think deserves to be regarded, on account of its great spirit and beauty.

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 408.

they had not been so, on account of the

" But leaving," adds he, " what might justly be offensive to God, it was a trespass also more than usual against human right, which commands that every author should have the property of his own work reserved to him after his death, as well as living. Many princes have been rigorous in laying taxes on their subjects by the head; but if any king heretofore, that made a levy upon their wit, and seized it as his own legitimate, I have not whom beside to instance[a]."

All this may be thought perhaps very severe: but unluckily the thing charged on Charles, the stealing this prayer from the Arcadia, is true, though it has been pretended to be otherwise by some gentlemen. I will quote Wagstaff, whose vindication of king Charles, against Walker and others, is in good esteem with the admirers of this monarch.—" I know but of one objection more, and that respects a prayer added to some editions of the king's book [Icon Basilike], as used by the king, and said to be taken out of a romance, &c. Now though I know of no manner of harm in this, and the objection is plainly peevish and querulous; for why may not a man use good expressions in his prayers, let them be borrowed from whom they will, as well as a good sentence out of a heathen writer, and which was never any blemish, though on the most pious occasions: yet there is great reason to believe that the king did never make use of it, for that it is not found in the first, nor in several other of the most early editions of this book[b]."—The same writer afterwards adds, " Since the first edition of this vindication, I have received full and convincing

[a] Second edition, published in 1650, re-published by Baron in 4to. Lond. 1756. p. 10. [b] Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, 8vo. p. 50. Lond. 1697.

prayer taken from Sir Philip Sidney's

information, concerning the mystery of this prayer, that it was an artifice of Bradshaw, or Milton, or both, and by them surreptitiously thrust into the king's works, to discredit the whole. This information comes originally from Mr. Hills the printer; but conveyed by two worthy gentlemen, and against whom there can be no possible exception, Dr. Gill and Dr. Bernard, who both were physicians to him, and very intimate with him. What Hills declared, as these gentlemen say, was this: Mr. Dugard, who was Milton's intimate friend, happened to be taken printing an edition of the king's book. Milton used his interest to bring him off, which he effected by the means of Bradshaw; but upon this condition, that Dugard should add Pamela's prayer to the aforesaid books he was printing, as an attonement for his fault, they designing thereby to bring a scandal upon the book, and blast the reputation of its author; pursuant to which design, they industriously took care afterwards, as soon as published, to have it taken notice of[a]."—In reply to this, Toland says, "I wonder at the easiness of Dr. Gill and Dr. Bernard to believe so gross a fable, when it does not appear that Dugard, who was printer to the parliament, ever printed this book; and the prayer is in the second edition, published by Mr. Royston, whose evidence is alledged to prove the genuineness of the book. And if the king's friends thought it not his own, what made them print it in the first impression of his works in folio, by Royston in 1662, when Milton could not tamper with the press? Or why did they let it pass in the last impression in folio by Mr. Chiswell, in the year 86, when all the world knew that it was long before exposed in Iconoclastes[b]?" This seems to have

[a] Wagstaff, p. 51. [b] Toland's Amyntor, p. 154. 8vo. Lond. 1699.

Arcadia, which has given them much trouble, and caused his adversaries triumphantly to insult over him. Whether

some force, and will be deemed, perhaps, satisfactory by many readers. But that nothing may be wanting to give satisfaction in this affair, I will add the words of a much abler writer than either of these gentlemen, and then leave the reader to his own judgment concerning it. "In this controversy [about Icon Basilike] a heavy charge hath been alledged against Milton. Some editions of the king's book have certain prayers added at the end, and among them a prayer in time of captivity, which is taken from that of Pamela in Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia: and it is said this prayer was added by the contrivance and artifice of Milton, who, together with Bradshaw, prevailed upon the printer to insert it, that from thence he might take occasion to bring a scandal upon the king, and to blast the reputation of his book, as he hath attempted to do in the first section of his answer. This fact is related chiefly upon the authority of Henry Hills the printer, who had frequently affirmed it to Dr. Gill and Dr. Bernard, his physicians, as they themselves have testified. But Hills was not himself the printer, who was dealt with in this manner, and consequently he could have the story only from hearsay: and though he was Cromwell's printer, yet afterwards he turned papist in the reign of James II. in order to be that king's printer, and it was at that time that he used to relate this story; so that I think little credit is due to his testimony. And indeed I cannot but hope and believe, that Milton had a soul above being guilty of so mean an action, to serve so mean a purpose; and there is as little reason for fixing it upon him, as he had to traduce the king for profaning the duty of

Charles was the author of Icon Basilike,[25] is a question that has been frequently canvassed, and seems yet pretty difficult to

prayer 'with the polluted trash of romances!' For there are not many finer prayers in the best books of devotion; and the king might as lawfully borrow and apply it to his own occasions, as the apostle might make quotations from heathen poems and plays: and it became Milton the least of all men to bring such an accusation against the king, as he was himself particularly fond of reading romances, and has made use of them in some of the best and latest of his writings[a]."

[25] Whether Charles was the author of Icon Basilike, is a question that has been frequently canvassed, &c.] The controversy concerning the author of Icon Basilike, has been of long standing. It was published soon after the death of Charles, in his name, and was received as his by the generality of the three kingdoms. Milton printed an answer to it in 1649, under the title of Iconoclastes, which had several editions, and has been frequently reprinted among the collection of his works.—In the preface to this answer, a doubt is made whether the author of these soliloquies were the late king, or some secret coadjutor? But throughout the body of the reply, the Icon Basilike is treated as the king's, whose actions it was intended to defend. In 1651, William Lilly published his Monarchy or no Monarchy in England, which is what has been since reprinted (as I take it) under the title of "Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles." In this piece, speaking of the Icon Basilike, he says,

[a] Milton's Life, by Dr. Newton, prefixed to the first vol. of Paradise Lost, p. 30. 8vo. Lond. 1750.—See also Dr. Birch's Life of Milton, prefixed to the first vol. of his prose works, in 4to. p. 33.

resolve. Probabilities there are on both

" It maintains so many contradictions unto those things manifested by his own letters, under his own hands, unto the queen, that I conceive the most part of it apocrypha: the meditations or psalms wholly were added by others: some loose papers he had, I do well know; but they were nothing so well methodized, but rather papers intended after for the press, or as it were a memorial or diary, than such a well-couched piece, and to so little purpose[a]." But Milton and Lilly were adversaries to Charles, and therefore little attention was paid to them by the public. On the contrary, Milton, for his doubt, was treated as " a base scribe, naturally fitted to compose satyrs and invent reproaches, and branded as one of those who was hired to despoil the king of the credit of being the author of this performance[b]." In the same style Sir William Dugdale speaks concerning this book. " Charles's adversaries discerning, soon after his death, those most divine meditations made public by the press, and intituled Icon Basilike, which in his deplorable and disconsolate solitudes he had pathetically put in writing; whereby his great prudence, patience, and piety in those his woful sufferings would be made openly conspicuous to the world; and not being able to suppress them (as they did earnestly endeavour to do), they made it their work to blast them, by their false and impudent reports, that they were none of his own, but composed by some royalist to gain a reputation to his memory, which they studied by all malicious projects and practices to suppress, and to that purpose encouraged a needy pedagogue, preferring him to the office of a secretary, to write that scandalous book called Icono-

[a] Lilly, p. 13. [b] Perinchief, p. 59.

sides; on which they are the strongest, the

clastes, being a bitter invective against those his divine meditations [a]." In the same style writes Barwick, and others. But little did these warm writers imagine, that a time was soon approaching, when the sons of Charles would be found among those "who made it their work to blast these his meditations, by their false and impudent reports, that they were none of his own, but composed by some royalist to gain a reputation to his memory." Lord Anglesey left a memorandum under his hand, "that king Charles II. and the duke of York, did both in the year 1675, when he shewed them in the lords house the written copy of this book, (wherein are some corrections and alterations written by the late king Charles the First's own hand) assure him, that this was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden, bishop of Exeter [b]." Agreeably hereunto is the testimony of bishop Burnet. "I was not a little surprised," says he, "when in the year 1673, in which I had a great share of favour and free conversation with the then duke of York, afterwards king James II. as he suffered me to talk very freely to him about matters of religion; and as I was urging him with somewhat out of his father's book, he told me that book was not of his father's writing, and that the letter to the prince of Wales was never brought to him. He said Dr. Gauden writ it. After the restoration, he brought the duke of Somerset and the earl of Southampton both to the king and to himself, who affirmed that they knew it was his writing; and that it was carried down by the earl of Southampton, and shewed the king during the treaty of Newport, who read it, and approved of it, as containing his sense of things. Upon this he told me, that

[a] Short View, p. 380. [b] Wagstaff's Vindication of K. Charles, p. 3.

reader will have an opportunity of judging,

though Sheldon, and other bishops, opposed Gauden's promotion, because he had taken the covenant, yet the merits of that service carried it for him, notwithstanding the opposition made to it[a]."—" Bishop Patrick, who was, in the old war-time, a great royalist, denies also that king Charles I. was the original author of Icon Basilike[b]."

To this we must add likewise the testimony of Dr. Walker, who assures us, " that Gauden, some time before the whole was finished, acquainted him with his design, and shewed him the heads of divers chapters, and some of the discourses written of them; and after some time spent in the perusal, he asked his opinion of it.—That he [Gauden] took him along with him to Dr. Duppa, the bishop of Salisbury, (whom he made also privy to his design) to fetch what papers he had left before for his perusal, or to shew him what he had since written: and that, upon their return from that place, after Gauden and Duppa were a while in private together, the former told him, the bishop of Salisbury wished he had thought upon two other heads, the ordinance against the common-prayer-book, and the denying his majesty the attendance of his chaplains; but that Duppa desired him to finish the rest, and he would take upon him to write two chapters on those subjects, which accordingly he did."—Walker farther informs us, " that Gauden told him he had sent a copy of Icon Basilike to the king, in the Isle of Wight, by the marquis of Hartford; that, after the restoration, he told him that the duke of York knew of his being the real author, and had owned it to be a great service; that all Gauden's family spoke of it among themselves

[a] Burnet, p. 76.

[b] Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life, vol. I. p. 353, 8vo. Lond. 1749.

in the note. However, whether this book as his work; that after part of it was printed, he gave to Walker, with his own hand, what was last sent to London; and after shewing him what it was, sealed it, giving him cautionary directions how to deliver it, which he did on Saturday the 23d of December, 1648, for Mr. Royston the printer, to Mr. Peacock, brother to Dr. Gauden's steward, who, after the impression was finished, gave him, for his trouble, six books, whereof he always kept one by him[a]." This is the substance of Walker's evidence. I will not detain the reader any longer on this side of the question, than by observing, that in a letter of the lord chancellor Hide's (acknowledged to be his own hand-writing by his son the earl of Clarendon) to Gauden[b], dated March 13, 1661, there is this remarkable expression; "The particular you mention has indeed been imparted to me as a secret: I am sorry I ever knew it; and when it ceases to be a secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton[c]." The meaning of this seems plain: but if it should not be so, the reader may possibly understand it, by remembering that not a word is said about Icon Basilike, in the long and laboured panegyric of Charles by lord Clarendon, in his history of the rebellion; "whose total silence in so full a history," says Mr. Hume, "composed in vindication of the king's measures and character, forms a very strong presumption on Toland's side[d]" [that the king was not the author of it.]

Let us now hear what Charles's advocates say in defence of his title to it.—Dr. Perinchief, speaking of Milton's attempts to despoil the king of the credit of this book, adds, "But all was in vain; for those that were

[a] Toland's Amyntor, p. 88—93.
[b] Wagstaff's Vindication, p. 22.
[c] Truth brought to Light, p. 37.
[d] History of Great Britain, p. 472, in the note.

was composed by his majesty, or by some

able to judge of styles, found it must be the same pen which wrought these meditations, and drew those letters the faction had published for him. Others, that were not able to satisfy themselves by such a censure, were assured of it by the relations of colonel Hammond that was his keeper, who did attest to several persons, that he saw them in the king's hand, heard him read them, and did see him to correct them in his presence. The archbishop of Armagh [Usher] did also affirm to those he conversed with, that he was employed, by a command from the king, to get some of them out of the hands of the faction; for they were taken in his cabinet at Naseby. And Royston, that printed them, did testify to those that enquired of him, that the king had sent to him, the Michaelmas before his death, to provide a press for some papers he should send to him, which were these, together with a design for a picture before the book; which at first was three crowns indented on a wreath of thorns; but afterwards the king recalled that, and sent that other which is now before his book[a]."—"I shall make evident," says Dugdale, "from the testimony of very credible persons yet living[b], that he had begun the penning of them [his meditations] long before he went from Oxford to the Scots: for the manuscript itself, written with his own hand, being found in his cabinet, which was taken at Naseby fight, was restored to him, after he was brought to Hampton-court, by the hand of major Huntington, through the favour of general Fairfax, of whom he obtained it. And that whilst he was in the isle of Wight, it was there seen frequently by Mr. Thomas Herbert, who then waited on his majesty in his bedchamber; as also by Mr. William Levet (a page of

[a] Life of Charles I. p. 59.

[b] This was printed in 1681.

other person under his name, it is allowed

the back-stairs), the title then prefixed to it being Suspiria Regalia, who not only read several parts thereof, but saw the king divers times writing farther on it. Add hereunto the testimony of Mr. Richard Royston, who was sent to by his majesty, about the beginning of October 1648, to prepare all things ready for the printing some papers which he purposed shortly after to convey to him; which was this very copy, brought to him on the 23d of December next following by one Mr. Edward Symmons, a reverend divine, who received it from Dr. Bryan Duppa, the bishop of Salisbury. In printing whereof Mr. Royston made such speed, that it was finished before that dismal 30th of January, that his majesty's life was so taken away[a]." Sir Philip Warwick talks to the same effect. "Though I cannot say I know he wrote his Icon Basilike, or Image, which goes under his name; yet I can say I have heard him, even unto my unworthy self, say many of those things it contains: and I have been assured by Mr. Levet (one of the pages of his bedchamber, and who was with him through all his imprisonments), that he hath not only seen the manuscript of that book among his majesty's papers at the isle of Wight, but read many of the chapters himself. And Mr. Herbert, who by the appointment of parliament, attended him, says, he saw the manuscript in the king's hand, as he believed; but it was in a running character, and not that which the king usually wrote[b]." And Mr. Wagstaff has given an extract from a MS. of Sir Thomas Herbert's, in which is the following passage: "At this time it was (as is presumed) he composed his book called Suspiria Regalia, published soon after his death, and intituled The King's Portraiture in his Solitude and Sufferings;

[a] Short View, p. 381. [b] Memoirs, p. 69.

to contain his own sense of things; to be

which manuscript Mr. Herbert found among those books his majesty was graciously pleased to give him (those excepted which he bequeathed to his children, hereafter mentioned), in regard Mr. Herbert, though he did not see the king write that book, his majesty being always private when he writ, and these his servants never coming into the bedchamber when the king was private, until he called; yet comparing it with his hand-writing in other things, he found it so very like, as induces his belief that it was his own, having seen much of the king's writings before[a]." And the same author has likewise given us a letter from the above-mentioned Mr. Levet, who therein declares, "that of his own certain knowledge he can depose, that the Icon Basilike was truly the king's own; he having often observed his majesty oftentimes writing his royal resentments of the bold and insolent behaviour of his soldiers (his rebellious subjects), when they had him in their custody.—I waited on his majesty," says he, "as page of the bedchamber in ordinary during all the time of his solitudes—and had the happiness to read the same oftentimes in manuscript, under his majesty's own hand, being pleased to leave it in the window in his own bedchamber, where I was always obliged to attend his majesty's coming thither." After which he tells us, "that upon the king's removal from Newport to Hurst, he gave him in charge this said book, and a small cabinet, which he faithfully presented to his majesty's own hands that night in Hurst-castle[b]." To all this I will add a passage from Burnet. "I was bred up with a high veneration of this book; and I remember, that when I heard how some denied it to be his, I asked the earl of Lothian about it, who both knew

[a] Vindication, p. 37. [b] Id. p. 38.

well written, and to have been serviceable to

the king very well, and loved him little: he seemed confident it was his own work; for he said, he had heard him say a great many of those very periods that he found in that book[a]."—I think I have here given the external evidence in its full strength, for and against Charles's being the author of Icon Basilike. Those who know the history of those times, and are acquainted with the writers concerning them, will be best able to judge on which side the probability lies.

Let us now attend to the style and composition of this book. Anglesey and Burnet declare Charles II. and James II. attributed this work to Gauden; and we have seen Walker expressly affirms it. But Burnet himself tells us, "this is certain, that Gauden never writ any thing with that force; his other writings being such, that no man from a likeness of stile would think him capable of writing so extraordinary a book as that is[b]." The following passages in Wagstaff seem very forcible. "Let any man compare the best of Dr. Gauden's writings with this book, and do it with judgment and discretion, and I dare say he will be perfectly cured; and he can no more believe that Dr. Gauden was the author of it, than he can believe that the king's picture at Whitehall, and that upon a sign-post, were both drawn by the same hand. I know Dr. Walker talks fine things of a man's changing his style, and differing from himself. But when all the pieces put out in a man's own name shall be loose, forced, stiff, and elaborate, and one single one put out in the name of another, incomparably great and excellent; this is such a change as, I believe, no man is capable of, and no man can give account for. The force of this, therefore, does not lie only in the difference of

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 76. [b] Id. p. 77.

his memory. For all which reasons, the

style and expression, but in that total disparity that is between them in every thing; for though a man may vary his style (which yet Dr. Gauden, by the several subjects he hath writ on, hath given no reason to think that he had a talent that way), yet he cannot be master of better and finer thoughts when he pleases; or if he could, to be sure, we should see something of them, or, at least, something like them, in the works which wear his name, and by which he designed to communicate himself to the present age, and his memory to posterity. Let a man therefore, who hath any understanding in these things, compare this admirable book with the genuine works of Dr. Gauden, his sermons, his speech in the lords house against the quakers, and his other tracts, and then let him believe they have all the same author if he can. This is so clear and convincing, that nothing ought, nothing can defeat it, but the most plain and invincible proofs[a]." He then proceeds to consider the historical parts of the meditations, and observes, "that they very well agree with the character of king Charles I. But how," adds he, "to reconcile them to Dr. Gauden's character is, I think, an insuperable difficulty. For as to his faculty at history, and how judicious a compiler he was, we have (as far as I know) but one single instance, and that is the life of Mr. Hooker, wrote by him, and prefixed to one edition of the Ecclesiastical Policy, and which (to say no more) is certainly the most injudicious history of a man's life that ever was written. There are so many palpable mistakes and falshoods, so very little to any purpose of history, so lean, jejune, and empty accounts of the man, whose life he undertook, that it plainly betrays a defect in every necessary qualification of an historian;

[a] Vindication of King Charles, p. 45.

reader will pardon my being so long in my account of this controversy.

and it is written without care, or diligence, or judgment. But I had rather leave this to the reader's own eyes, than extend it further; and if he please to compare this book and that life together, let him judge for himself; and if, after that, he can possibly believe that they have both one and the same author, he is abandoned to the utmost degree of easiness and credulity, and may believe any thing in the world [a]." This should be well considered by those gentlemen who roundly assert, that Gauden was the author of Icon Basilike.—However, it appears, from the evidence of the writers against Charles's being the composer of this book, that it was corrected and altered by him, and that he approved of it, as containing his sense of things, and therefore may properly be looked on as his defence of himself, as well as his accusation of his adversaries.

This note is already long; but the reader will, I hope, pardon me, if I add to it by observing, that the effects of the publishing Icon Basilike were at first very considerable, with regard to the memory and character of Charles. "Every body in foreign countries," says Mr. Bayle, "was persuaded that king Charles I. wrote the book which bears his name; which did so much honour to his memory, and appeared so fit to make him looked upon as a true martyr, that it was thought that Milton, endeavouring to rob him of it, did only use the trick of lawyers, who deny every thing that is too favourable to the contrary party [b]." Nor had it less effect at home, according to Burnet. "A compassionate regard to Charles I. was much heightened by the publishing of his book called Icon Basilike, which was universally

[a] Vindication of King Charles, p. 47. [b] Bayle's Dictionary, article Milton, note (s).

The works of Charles, as I have observed, are not of themselves voluminous; but yet the editors of them have omitted some

believed to be his own: and that coming out soon after his death, had the greatest run [a], in many impressions, that any book has had in our age. There was in it a nobleness and justness of thought, with a greatness of style, that made it to be looked on as the best writ book in the English language: and the piety of the prayers made all people cry out against the murder of a prince, who thought so seriously of all his affairs in his secret meditations before God [b]." So that lord Shaftesbury probably was right when he said, "that it cannot be doubted that the pious treatise of Self-discourse, attributed to this monarch, contributed in a great measure to his glorious and never-fading titles of saint and martyr [c]."

Mr. Hume observes, "that Milton compares the effects of this book to those which were operated on the tumultuous Romans, by Antony's reading to them the will of Cæsar [d]." He should have quoted the page, but this, for the most part, he neglects to do in his work: however, here is what Milton says at length.—"First, then, that some men (whether they were by him intended, or by his friends) have by policy accomplished after death that revenge upon their enemies, which in life they were not able, hath been oft related. And among other examples we find, that the last will of Cæsar being read to the people, and what bounteous legacies he had bequeathed them, wrought more in that vulgar

[a] It has gone through forty-seven impressions;—the number of copies are said to have been 48,500. See Mr. Joseph Ames's account of the several editions of this book in the London Magazine for Feb. 1756.

[b] Burnet, vol. I. p. 76. [c] Characteristics, vol. I. p. 195. 12mo. 1746. [d] Hume's History, p. 473.

writings to which he has an undoubted right[26]: particularly a letter written by him, when prince of Wales, in the year 1623,

audience to the avenging of his death, than all the art he could ever use to win their favour in his life-time. And how much their intent, who published these overlate apologies and meditations of the dead king, drives to the same end of stirring up the people to bring him that honour, that affection, and by consequence that revenge to his dead corpse, which he himself living could never gain to his person; it appears both by the conceited portraiture before his book, drawn out to the full measure of a masking scene, and set there to catch fools and silly gazers; and by those Latin words after the end, *Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt;* intimating, that what he could not compass by war, he should atchieve by his meditations[a]."—Let the reader judge from hence of the exactness of this polite writer, and the reliance which is due to his narratives.

[26] The editors of Charles's works have omitted some writings to which he has an undoubted right.] Toland attacks the editors of Charles's works very briskly on this subject. "I must remark," says he, "that tho' his pretended friends were so ready to father such books on Charles I. wherein he had no hand; yet they industriously left out of his works a letter to pope Gregory XV. whereof I can prove him as evidently to be the author, as Cicero or Virgil may be entitled to the Philippics and the Æneids. There is an interpolated copy of it in the first volume of Rushworth's Collections: it is rightly inserted in the quarto edition of a book called Cabala, or Mysteries of State. It is also in the Italian Mercury of Vittorio Siri; in Du Chesne's French

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 403.

to pope Gregory XV. and another in the year 1634, to pope Urban VIII. To these

History of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and in several Spanish and Italian authors. Pope Urban VIII. mentions it in the letter which he likewise sent this prince, with another to his father king James; both which may be read in Rushworth's Collections. Now was not the omitting this letter a notorious fraud, since that it alone, with those letters which the parliament published to disgrace him, and a few pieces besides, make up all his genuine writings[a]." The following account of Charles's letter to Gregory XV. is taken from a writer remarkable for his fidelity and exactness. "We find two letters of Charles to Gregory XV. and Urban VIII. The former of these letters was written while he was prince of Wales, and in Spain, in answer to one from the pope, dated April 20, 1623, exhorting him to come into the bosom of the Church, and imitate his glorious ancestors, who had done such great things for the defence of religion. The prince's answer, dated at Madrid, June 20, the same year, was published soon after in the Mercure François, and since reprinted in Wilson, Rushworth, &c. tho' there is some difference in the copies given by the two last mentioned historians. But in that of the Mercure François, which agrees with Rushworth's [I think it should be Wilson's], are these most remarkable expressions: 'It was an unspeakable pleasure to me to read the generous exploits of the kings my predecessors, to whose memory posterity hath not given those praises and elogies of honour, as were due to them. I do believe that your holiness hath set their examples before my eyes, to the end that I might imitate them in all my actions; for,

[a] Amyntor, p. 171.

also we must add the instructions given to his minister at Paris, containing an account

in truth, they have often exposed their estates and lives for the exaltation of the holy chair. And the courage with which they have assaulted the enemies of the cross of Jesus Christ, hath not been less than the care and thought which I have, to the end, that the peace and intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting in Christendom, might be bound with the bond of a true concord. For like as the common enemy of peace watcheth always to put hatred and dissention between the Christian princes, so I believe that the glory of God requires, that we should endeavour to unite them. And I do not esteem it a greater honour to be descended from so great princes, than to imitate them in the zeal of their piety; in which it helps me very much to have known the mind and will of our thrice honoured lord and father, and the holy intentions of his catholic majesty, to give a happy concurrence to so laudable a design! For it grieves him extremely to see the great evil, that grows from the division of Christian princes, which the wisdom of your holiness foresaw, when it judged the marriage, which you pleased to design between the infanta of Spain and myself, to be necessary to procure so great a good. For it is very certain, that I shall never be so extremely affectionate to any thing in the world, as to endeavour an alliance with a prince that hath the same apprehension of true religion with myself. Therefore I intreat your holiness to believe, that I have been always very far from encouraging novelties, or to be a partizan of any faction against the catholic apostolic Roman religion; but, on the contrary, I have sought all occasions to take away the suspicion that might rest upon me, and that I will employ myself for the time to come, to have

of the ill behaviour of his queen towards him, as likewise the instructions to colonel

but one religion and one faith, seeing that we all believe in Jesus Christ; having resolved in myself to spare nothing, that I have in the world, and to suffer all manner of discommodities, even to the hazarding of my estate and life, for a thing so pleasing unto God[a]."——The king's letter to pope Urban VIII. was written in 1634: it is in Latin, and was occasioned by the distresses the house of Lorrain was involved in by the arms of France. It shews great affection to the princes of that family, and is full of pressing addresses to his holiness to exert his paternal authority to put *an end to the calamities of the war.* There is nothing *in it on the subject of religion; but it is merely a civil compliment for a civil end, as Prynne justly observes. This letter was found* among Laud's papers, and endorsed with his own hands in these words: "Recc. Oct. 15, 1635. A copy of the letter which is reported king Charles did write to pope Urban VIII. about the restitution of the duke of Loraigne[b]". So that there can be little doubt concerning its genuineness, or of the correspondence his majesty held on some occasions with the head of the Romish church.——But the editors of Charles's works are chargeable with other omissions, namely, the instructions he gave to lord Carleton, containing an account of his queen's ill behaviour toward him, of which I have already given an account; and instructions to colonel Cookran [Cockeram], to be pursued in his negotiation to the king of Denmark. In these are set forth, "the undutiful behaviour of many

[a] Enquiry into the Share which K. Charles I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, p. 285. 8vo. Lond. 1747. [b] Prynne's Hidden Works of Darkness, p. 142. fol. Lond. 1645.

Cockeram, to be pursued in his negotiation with the king of Denmark. More of

of his majesty's subjects, who have not only invaded his majesty in his particular rites, but have laid a designe to dissolve the monarchie and frame of government, under pretences of liberty and religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the monarchies of Christendome to be looked upon with successe in their designe." After this he shews the reasons he had "to forsake London; the effect of his declarations to undeceive the people, and to draw to him universally the nobility and gentry of the kingdom; the force he was master of, and the good condition of his affairs. And in order farther to induce his Danish majesty to give him the assistance demanded, he the said colonel is to set forth, that it had been moved in the commons house to set out a fleet to take away his customs of the sound; that the commons had given instructions to the fleet to visit, search, and intercept all such Danish ships as they should meet, and to fight with, sink, or destroy, all such as should resist them; that this actually had been done by them; and that they permitted not Danish ships, drove in by stress of weather, so much as to water." After which there follow these very remarkable words:

"That in pursuance of their [the parliament's] great designe of extirpating the royall blood, and monarchie of England, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his royall family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his [Denmark's] sister, at once to cut off the interest and pretensions of the whole race, which their most detestable and scandalous designe they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances, and times, to colour their pre-

Charles's letters we were likely once to have had; but by the uncommon care of the

tensions in so great a fault: and which as his sacred majestie of England, in the true sense of honour of his mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expect his [Denmark's] concurrence, in vindicating a sister of so happy memory, and by whom so near an union and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the families and kingdoms. These things were to be urged by Cockeram to the Danish king, in order, we may suppose, to inflame him against the parliament, and thereby procure a loane of 100,000*l.* in money, 6000 musquets, 1500 horse-arms, and 20 pieces of field-artillery mounted, together with some horse-men[a]." These instructions have no date; but they must have been given about the middle of the year 1642, at the latest: for we read in Whitlock, "that in November, that year, letters from Holland to the king were intercepted, whereby notice is given him of store of ammunition and money sent to him from thence, and of an ambassador coming from Denmark to the king, and colonel Cockeram with him[b]."—Milton speaks of this suspicion, mentioned of his mother's chastity, in the following terms: "Was it not dishonourable in himself [Charles] to feign suspicions and jealousies, which we found among those letters [taken at Naseby], touching the chastity of his mother, thereby to gain assistance from the king of Denmark, as in vindication of his sister[c]." It looks by this, that Milton was unacquainted with the rumours of that queen's amours[d]. These instructions to Cockran were afterwards made

[a] King's Cabinet, p. 38, 43.
[b] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 66.
[c] Milton's Prose Works, p. 468.
[d] See Historical and Critical Account of the Life of James I. p. 16—40.

friends to his memory they were suppressed [27], and will not, in all probability, ever

use of by the parliament to Charles's disadvantage, as we may learn from the following passage.—Feb. 11, 1647, "Debate upon the declaration touching no more addresses to the king, and voted upon hearing proofs, that his majesties instructions to Mr. Cockeram—be inserted in the declaration, and ordered it to be printed and published [a]."

What I have here inserted, is merely to discharge the duty of an historian. I am accountable for nothing contained in these letters and instructions: whether they are honourable or disgraceful to their author, the reader, as he has a right, will and must judge. But I cannot conclude this note without observing, that the artifice of the editors of Charles's works was poor and ineffectual. They thought to have buried these writings in oblivion, by omitting them in their collection; they imagined that for the future men would not think of them. But the thought was vain, as they had made so much noise in the world, and had been inserted in so many different collections; and the event has shewn, that historical inquirers have come to the knowledge of them, and declared their contents. For all writers have not been so very complaisant to the memory of this monarch as Mr. Hume, who passes over so remarkable a letter as what is here quoted to Gregory XV. with only saying, "that the prince [Charles] having received a very civil letter from the pope, he was induced to return a very civil answer [b]."

[27] More of Charles's letters we were likely once to have had; but by the friends to his memory they were suppressed.] The following quotation, as it contains

[a] Whitlock, p. 291. [b] History of Great Britain, p. 109.

see the light. All that remains now to be

something remarkable, so will it be new to a great many of my readers, who, I doubt not, will be pleased with my giving it them at length.——"The most exceptionable part of Charles I.'s character, and what appears to have been the main source of his misfortunes, and occasion of his ruin, was his want of sincerity in all matters, in which his power and prerogative were concerned. This is too clearly proved by many public facts, to be denied by any impartial person; and might have been still more strongly evinced, if the friends to the king's memory had not taken an uncommon care to suppress such evidences as would have discredited their panegyrics upon him. A remarkable instance of this zeal appears from a letter of Dr. Charles Hickman [afterwards bishop of Londonderry], chaplain to Laurence Hyde earl of Rochester, the younger son of the earl of Clarendon, and the editor of his history. This letter was written by the doctor, at the desire of his patron, to Dr. Thomas Sprat, bishop of Rochester, to request that prelate's concurrence for preventing the intended publication of a collection of letters of king Charles I. to his queen; which must have been different from those taken in his cabinet at Naseby, since the latter had not only been published by order of the long parliament, but likewise several times reprinted, and particularly with that king's works. But the former collection has never seen, nor is ever likely to see the light; as it is probable, that those who appear, from Dr. Hickman's letter, so zealous for his majesty's memory, would sacrifice to his honour what they thought so inconsistent with it. This suppression of important facts, in favour of particular characters and parties, is little less criminal than the absolute falsification of them: and such a violation of one of the first laws of

mentioned of the production of this king's.

history has been the great source of the corruption of it, whether civil or ecclesiastical." Dr. Hickman's letter is as follows:

"MY LORD,

"Last week Mr. Bennet [a bookseller] left with me a manuscript of letters from king Charles I. to his queen; and said it was your lordship's desire and Dr. Pelling's, that my lord Rochester would read them over, and see what was fit to be left out in the intended edition of them. Accordingly my lord has read them over, and upon the whole matter says, he is very much amazed at the design of printing them; and thinks that king's enemies could not have done him a greater discourtesy. He shewed me many passages, which detract very much from the reputation of the king's prudence, and something from his integrity; and, in short, he can find nothing throughout the whole collection, but what will lessen the character of the king, and offend all those who wish well to his memory. He thinks it very unfit to expose any man's conversation and familiarity with his wife, but especially that king's; for it was apparently his blind side, and his enemies gained great advantage by shewing it. But my lord hopes his friends will spare him; and therefore he has ordered me not to deliver the book to the bookseller, but put it into your lordship's hands; and when you have read it, he knows you will be of his opinion. If your lordship has not time to read it all, my lord has turned down some leaves, where he makes his chief objections. If your lordship sends any servant to town, I beg you would order him to call here for the book, and that you would take care about it.

"Here is a hot discourse that the warrant is signed

pen, is a copy of verses[28], written at Caris-

for my lord Preston's execution; but I cannot believe it. My lord, I humbly beg your lordship's blessing; and remain your most dutiful son, and humble servant,

" CHARLES HICKMAN.

" To the right reverend the lord bishop of Rochester, at Bromley in Kent.

" This letter was written some time between the 17th of January, 1690, and the 16th of February following, tho' the precise day be uncertain; and it is transcribed from the Harleian library of manuscripts, 161, c. 18, fol. 189, which was purchased in 1753 by the parliament, and now made part of the British Musæum[a]:" so that there can be no possible doubt of its authenticity.

This letter, as it tends little to the honour of the memory of Charles, reflects somewhat on the character of lord Rochester, and may possibly tempt the reader to pay the less regard to the protestation he makes, of his not daring to take on him to make any alterations in his father's history[b]; it being to be suspected, that he who scruples not, out of party-views, to conceal the truth, may on occasion pervert it, to answer the same purposes.

[28] A copy of verses, &c.] This poem has the title of Majesty in Misery: or an Imploration to the King of Kings. It is said to have been written by his majesty at Carisbrook Castle, in the year 1648.

It is somewhat long; but as it is little known, and perhaps may gratify the reader's curiosity, and enable him to judge of the poetical talents of Charles, I will insert it.

[a] Appendix to the Enquiry into the Share K. Charles I. had in Glamorgan's Transactions, p. 12. [b] See Preface to the 1st vol. of Clarendon's History, p. 2.

brook Castle in the year 1648. They have

I.

Great monarch of the world, from whose power springs
The potency and power of kings,
Record the royal woe my suffering sings;

II.

And teach my tongue, that ever did confine
Its faculties in truth's seraphic line,
To track the treasons of thy foes and mine.

III.

Nature and law, by thy divine decree,
(The only root of righteous royaltie)
With this dim diadem invested me:

IV.

With it, the sacred sceptre, purple robe,
The holy unction, and the royal globe:
Yet am I levell'd with the life of Job.

V.

The fiercest furies, that do daily tread
Upon my grief, my gray-discrowned head,
Are those that owe my bounty for their bread.

VI.

They raise a war, and christen it "the cause,"
Whilst sacrilegious hands have best applause,
Plunder and murder are the kingdom's laws;

VII.

Tyranny bears the title of taxation,
Revenge and robbery are reformation,
Oppression gains the name of sequestration.

VIII.

My loyal subjects who in this bad season
Attend me (by the law of God and reason)
They dare impeach and punish for high treason.

IX.

Next at the clergy do their furies frown,
Pious episcopacy must go down,
They will destroy the crosier and the crown.

X.

Churchmen are chain'd, and schismaticks are free'd,
Mechanicks preach, and holy fathers bleed,
The crown is crucified with the creed.

been omitted in the collection of his works; though no doubt has been made of their genuineness.

XI.

The church of England doth all faction foster,
The pulpit is usurp'd by each impostor,
Ex tempore excludes the *pater noster.*

XII.

The presbyter and independant seed
Springs with broad blades; to make religion bleed,
Herod and Pontius Pilate are agreed.

XIII.

The corner stones misplac'd by every pavior;
With such a bloody method and behaviour,
Their ancestors did crucifie our Saviour.

XIV.

My royal consort, from whose fruitful womb
So many princes legally have come,
Is forc'd in pilgrimage to seek a tomb.

XV.

Great Britain's heir is forced into France,
Whilst on his father's head his foes advance:
Poor child! he weeps out his inheritance.

XVI.

With my own power my majesty they wound,
In the king's name the king himself's uncrown'd:
So doth the dust destroy the diamond.

XVII.

With propositions daily they enchant
My people's ears, such as do reason daunt,
And the Almighty will not let me grant.

XVIII.

They promise to erect my royal stem,
To make me great, t' advance my diadem,
If I will first fall down and worship them!

XIX.

But for refusal they devour my thrones,
Distress my children, and destroy my bones,
I fear they'll force me to make bread of stones.

But it is time to pass from the private to the public character of Charles. Abroad he made little figure; his wars being ill

XX.

My life they prize at such a slender rate,
That in my absence they draw bills of hate,
To prove the king a traytor to the state.

XXI.

Felons obtain more privilege than I,
They are allow'd to answer ere they die;
'Tis death for me to ask the reason, why.

XXII.

But sacred Saviour, with thy words I woo
Thee to forgive, and not be bitter to
Such, as thou know'st do not know what they do.

XXIII.

For since they from their Lord are so disjointed,
As to contemn those edicts he appointed,
How can they prize the power of his anointed?

XXIV.

Augment my patience, nullifie my hate,
Preserve my issue, and inspire my mate,
Yet though we perish, bless this church and state.

Of this poem, Dr. Burnet (who says he had it from a very worthy gentleman, who waited on his majesty at that time, and copied it out from the original) observes, "that the mighty sense and great piety of it, will be found to be beyond all the finest sublimities of poetry which yet are not wanting here [a]."

And Mr. Hume, speaking of this copy of verses, remarks, "that the truth of the sentiment, rather than the elegance of expression, renders them very pathetic [b]." The reader, who attentively considers them, will be able to judge of the propriety of these observations, and of the poetical talents of his majesty.

[a] Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 379. [b] History of Great Britain, p. 451.

conducted, and unsuccessful: witness the war with Spain[29], which he found himself

I have now finished the account of Charles's writings: and as a memento to princes, and their ministers, (if such should ever cast an eye on this performance) I will close the note with the wholesome advice of lord Shaftesbury. "I will not," says he, "take upon me to recommend this author-character to our future princes. Whatever crowns or lawrels their renowned predecessors [Henry VIII. James I. and Charles I.] may have gathered in this field of honor; I should think that, for the future, the speculative province might more properly be committed to private heads. It would be a sufficient encouragement to the learned world, and a sure earnest of the increase and flourishing of letters in our nation, if its sovereigns would be contented to be the patrons of wit, and vouchsafe to look graciously on the ingenious pupils of art. Or were it the custom of their prime ministers to have any such regard, it would of itself be sufficient to change the face of affairs. A small degree of favour would insure the fortunes of a distressed and ruinous tribe, whose forlorn condition has helped to draw disgrace upon arts and sciences, and kept them far off from that politeness and beauty, in which they would soon appear[a]."

[29] Witness the war with Spain, &c.] Charles, by attesting the narrative of the duke of Buckingham, concerning the Spaniards' behaviour in the match with the Infanta, and the restitution of the Palatinate, was the occasion of the parliament's desire that the treaties should be broken off, and arms made use of to recover the patrimony of the king of Bohemia. King James,

[a] Characteristics, vol. I. p. 193.

engaged in on his accession to the throne, March 26, 1625: a war which began with

against his inclinations, seemed to comply with the voice of his people, declared by their representatives; and preparations were made for war. In the meanwhile James died; and Charles, intent on carrying on what by Buckingham's instigation he had began, quickly assembled a parliament; in which, at the opening of it, he was pleased to say, "My lords and gentlemen, I hope you remember you were pleased to employ me to advise my father to break off those two treaties that were on foot; so that I cannot say I came hither a free unengaged man. It's true, I came into this business willingly and freely, like a young man, and consequently rashly; but it was by your interest, your engagement; so that though it were done like a young man, yet I cannot repent me of it, and I think none can blame me for it, knowing the love and fidelity you have borne to your king, having myself likewise some little experience of your affections. I pray you remember that this being my first action, and begun by your advice and intreaty, what a great dishonour it were to you, and me, if this action, so begun, should fail for that assistance you are able to give me. Yet knowing the constancy of your love, both to me and this business, I needed not to have said this, but only to shew what care and sense I have of your honours and my own.—Wherefore I hope you will take such grave counsel, as you will expedite what you have in hand to do: which will do me and yourselves an infinite deal of honour; you, in shewing your love to me; and me, that I may perfect that work which my father hath so happily begun[a]." After this the lord-

[a] Frankland's Annals, p. 109.

fitting out a considerable fleet, under an

keeper Williams, by his majesty's order, told them, "that the king's main reason of calling this parliament, was to mind them of the great engagements for the recovery of the Palatinate, and to let them understand that the subsidies granted in the last parliament were already spent, together with as much of the king's own revenue."——It must be confessed this address of Charles was very proper, and calculated to make the parliament readily and powerfully support him. But however it was, two subsidies only were granted; nor could the king, either at London, or Oxford, (where the parliament, on account of the plague, was ordered to be assembled after its adjournment) obtain more. The commons had their grievances; and their touching on them was unacceptable to the court, especially as Buckingham began to be severely inveighed against; and rather than be forced to redress them, his majesty chose to dissolve the parliament, though money was never more wanted by a king for his own private use, and to carry on the war[a].

But notwithstanding the dissolution of the parliament, Charles having raised money by way of loan, though contrary to law, determined to carry on the war against Spain. "To this end, a fleet was fitted out for an expedition against that kingdom. The command thereof, instead of being bestowed on Sir Robert Mansel, an old and experienced seaman, and vice-admiral of England, was given to Sir Edward Cecil, a soldier trained in the Low-country wars, who, for the honour of the enterprize, was created viscount Wimbledon; and agreeable to the choice of the general

[a] See Sidney's State-papers, vol. II. p. 360, 363.

unexperienced sea-commander, the viscount

was the success of this expedition. His fleet consisted of eighty sail, of which number some were ships of the States General; and the earls of Essex and Denbigh were his vice and rear admirals; with which setting sail from Plymouth, when he was got some few leagues at sea, he was encountered with a violent storm, which dispersed the fleet, so that they were many days before they got together at their appointed rendezvous off cape St. Vincent. From thence proceeding to the bay of Cadiz, they found there, near the Puntal, fourteen great ships, and twelve gallies, which, through neglect and mismanagement, they suffered to escape; for though the earl of Essex, pursuant to the general's orders, did very resolutely and bravely attack them, yet the rest of the fleet not coming up timely to his assistance, the Spanish ships, after having given the earl a warm salute or two, retired over to Port Real: to which place it was not thought fit to follow them, whether through the ignorance of the pilots, or unskilfulness of the general, is hard to determine. So that failing in this enterprize, they attacked the castle of Puntal, and with the loss of a great many men, made a shift to atchieve the reduction of that place: after which, having made some ineffectual efforts against the town of Cadiz, the troops were reimbarked, and the fleet set sail for cape St. Vincent, to cruize in the offing of that place for the Flota from America, where having waited for some time in vain, the men began to grow very sickly; when, to complete the miscarriages of this expedition, the sick men were distributed through the whole fleet, two to each ship, by which means the sickness was increased to such a degree, that there were scarce hands enough left to carry the fleet home, which, in the month of

Wimbledon; which, after a fruitless expe-

December, returned ingloriously to England[a]."—— This was the only expedition against Spain, this the fruit of it! which, we may be sure, tended not greatly to the reputation of the British arms, or the honour of the British monarch.—However, this dishonourable expedition to Cadiz did not sit easy on Charles. He testified his resentment of Wimbledon's conduct, by calling him to an account before his council, and afterwards forbidding him his presence. Wimbledon, however, stood stoutly in his own justification, and laid the blame on Sir Michael Geree and the earl of Essex, "who," says he, "let pass the king of Spain's ships that offered him fight, which would have been the chief service, having instructions not to let any flie, or break out, without fighting with them." After this, in a letter to Buckingham, he adds, "I hold myself clear of all imputations, in despight of all malice and practice that hath been against me, to obscure all my endeavours, which my adversaries in their consciences can best witness, that when they slept, I waked; when they made good chear, I fasted; and when they rested, I toiled. And besides, when they went about to hinder the journey at Plymouth, by railing at the beggarliness of it, and discrediting of it, I was contented to take it upon me, though against my judgment, as I did secretly deliver both to his majesty and your grace, before I departed from the coast: nominating in my letter to his majesty all the inconveniences that did after happen unto the fleet; for had it not been in obedience to his majesty, and my good affection to your excellency (that I did see so much affect it, and was so far engaged), I would rather have been torne

[a] Burchet's Naval History, p. 370. fol. Lond. 1720. See also Acta Regia, p. 555. fol. Lond. And Howel's Letters, p. 163.

dition to Cadiz, returned home most igno-

in pieces, than to have gone with so many ignorant and malicious people, that did shew so little affection or courage to his majestie's service, or any affection at all to your excellency. Yet for all this, all hath been laid upon me, having had rather hard courses taken against me, than any way maintained in my commission which was given me, which no state, that I ever heard of, did before. I pray God, his majestie's future service do not suffer for it; for where his majestie's officers are not obeyed, he can never be served[a]."—I suppose Wimbledon was not believed; for after this he was not employed, though he had been a creature of Buckingham's.

About this time likewise Charles sent the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Holland ambassadors to the United Provinces, where they met those of France, Holland, and Denmark, and concluded a league against the Emperor and the king of Spain, for the restoring the Palatinate and the liberties of Germany. Whereupon the king of Denmark took up arms, and was assisted by six thousand men from England, under the command of Sir Charles Morgan. But he was soon defeated by Tilly the imperial general, and forced to make peace with the Emperor; by which means the hope of restoring that country was lost, and Charles was moreover reflected on for not giving the assistance he had promised[b]. After these ill successes, arms were no more recurred to against the Emperor or Spain; but a peace was concluded with the latter, and proclaimed at London, November 27, 1631.

Whoever calls to mind the zeal the parliament in James's time expressed for a rupture with Spain, and

[a] Cabala, p. 405. [b] See Nani's History of Venice, p. 255. fol. Lond. 1673. and Acta Regia, p. 555.

miniously; and nothing against that nation

the recovery of the Palatinate by force of arms, may well enough wonder at the small supplies given by Charles's parliament for these ends. Lord Clarendon reflects on this parliament for refusing to supply the king, according to his desire, out of hatred to Buckingham, "whom they called the corrupter of the king, and betrayer of the liberties of the people, without," says he, "imputing the least crime to him, to have been committed since the time of that exalted adulation [when he returned with the prince from Spain, and was called our saviour], or that was not then as much known to them as it could be now[a]." But in answer hereunto, lord Bolingbroke remarks, "that the parliaments, which met after the accession of king Charles, became incensed, as they discovered more and more that the account given by the duke of Buckingham, in the reign of king James, and on which the resolutions of that parliament had been taken, was false in almost every point. A system of lies, dressed up to deceive the nation, and imposed on the parliament, could neither remain undiscovered, nor escape the resentment and indignation it deserved, when discovered. Besides, that parliament, and the nation too, when they expressed so much joy at the breach with Spain, flattered themselves that, by preventing the marriage with the Infanta, they had prevented all the dangers which they apprehended from that marriage; whereas it appeared soon afterwards, that they stood exposed to the very same dangers by the marriage concluded with France; nay, to greater; since the education of the children by the mother, that is, in popery, had been confined to ten years by the former treaty, and was extended to thirteen by the

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 26.

was afterwards attempted, though peace

latter. In short, it cannot be denied, and my lord Clarendon owns, that as the insolence of Buckingham caused the war with Spain, so his lust and his vanity alone threw the nation into another with France. Spain was courted first without reason, and affronted afterwards without provocation. Ships were lent to the king of France against his protestant subjects; and the persecution of his protestant subjects was made the pretence of a rupture with him. Thus was the nation led from one extravagant project to another, at an immense charge, with great diminution of honour, and infinite loss to trade, by the ignorance, private interest, and passion of one man. The conduct therefore of the parliament, who attacked this man, was perfectly consistent with the conduct of that parliament who had so much applauded him; and one cannot observe without astonishment, the slip made by the noble historian we have just quoted, when he affirms, that the same men who had applauded him, attacked him, without imputing the least crime to him, that was not as much known when they applauded him, as when they attacked him. Now it is plain, that many of the crimes imputed to him, in the reign of king Charles, when he was attacked, could not be known; and that many others had not been even committed in the reign of king James, when he was, upon one single occasion, applauded[a]." This seems a sufficient reply to lord Clarendon.

Mr. Hume indeed seems of Clarendon's mind: he calls the two subsidies, amounting to 112,000 *l.* rather a cruel mockery of Charles, than any serious design of supporting him; and he attributes this usage not only to envy and hatred against Buckingham; the

[a] Craftsman, vol. VII. p. 389. 12mo. Lond. 1731.

was not proclaimed till the middle of the year 1631. Nor was this prince more fortunate in the war [30] which, by the instiga-

nation's being unused to the burthens of taxes; the disgusts of the puritans against the court, "both by reason of the principles of civil liberty, essential to their party, and on account of the restraint under which they were held by the established hierarchy; and the match with France:" I say, he attributes this behaviour of the parliament not only to these causes, but likewise to the design the principal men among the commons "had to seize the opportunity, which the king's necessities offered them, to reduce the prerogative within more reasonable bounds[a]." But this is refining too much. The parliament saw the war was directed by wrong hands; they saw English ships lent to the French king, in order to destroy the protestants of his kingdom; and consequently they had little hopes that the Palatinate (the chief reason of the war) would be recovered by the counsels of those, who were so unconcerned about the protestant cause. Add to this, that the parliament were out of humour at being adjourned to Oxford, "when the pestilence had overspread the land, so that no man that travelled knew where to lodge in safety; and therefore might reasonably be supposed to have voted out of discontent and displeasure, as Williams thought they would[b]." These considerations, with those mentioned by lord Bolingbroke, abundantly account for the behaviour of Charles's parliament, and are a justification of it.

[30] Nor was this prince more fortunate in the war, &c.] In the note 9 I have shewn the real causes of

[a] Hume's History of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 144—147. [b] Phillips's Life of Williams, p. 161. 8vo. Cambridge, 1700.

tion of Buckingham, he made against France, at the same time that the Spanish breach was unclosed. Every one knows this war, even the lust and revenge of Buckingham: but this was carefully to be concealed from the world, and Charles was made to believe that he had received injuries from France, and that his honour and interest required him to revenge them.

Buckingham therefore prevailed on him to declare war against the French king, and, for the reasons of it, to allege the influence of the house of Austria on the councils of France, manifested in count Mansfield's being denied landing with his army there, in the conclusion of his father's reign; the injuries and oppressions of the protestants of France, though they had strictly adhered to the edict of peace concluded by his mediation; and the injustice of his most christian majesty, in seizing upon one hundred and twenty English ships in time of full peace. These were the pretences on which war against France was made, when Charles was unable to prosecute that he was engaged in against Spain. However, a good fleet was equipped out, an army put on board, and Buckingham, who was ignorant of military affairs, constituted admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of the land-forces[a]. On the 7th of June, 1627, he sailed from Portsmouth; and having in vain attempted to get entrance into Rochelle, directed his course to the isle of Rhee, where he landed his forces, and might easily have made himself master of the fort de la Prée, and those who defended it. But he was dilatory; Thoiras, the French commander, was active, and kept him so well employed, that time was given to the French court to raise forces, under the command of count Schomberg; who landed in the

[a] See Rushworth, vol. I. p. 424, 425.

the shameful descent at the isle of Rhee, and its unhappy issue: nor can any be to-

island without any molestation from the English fleet, marched towards Buckingham, who was besieging St. Martin's, caused him with precipitation to raise the siege, and forced him to reimbark with great loss of men and honour. "The duke of Buckingham lost in this expedition about fifty officers, near two thousand common soldiers, five and thirty prisoners of note, and forty-four colours, which were carried to Paris, and hung up as trophies in the cathedral there. And thus ended this expedition, with great dishonour to the English, and equal glory to the French; but in particular to monsieur Thoiras, who, for having so bravely, with a handful of men, defended a small fort (for no other is it, though our journals and accounts dignify it with the title of a citadel) against a numerous fleet and army, was not long after advanced to the high dignity of a mareschal of France[a]."—In a letter from Denzill Holles, Esq. afterwards lord Holles, to Sir Thomas Wentworth, well known by the title of lord Stafforde, dated Dorchester, Nov. 19, 1627, we have the following account of this unhappy expedition.

— "God hath blessed us better than we deserve, or, by our preparations, than we could expect, or else we had been in a far worse condition than now we are, though we be sufficiently bad; for it was a thousand to one we had lost all our ships, to close up this unfortunate action, if a fair wind had not so opportunely come to have brought them off; for they had but ten days victuals left, which failing, they must have submitted themselves to the enemies mercy, who besides were preparing with long-boats to have come and fired them, which was marvellous feasible, if they had staid

[a] Burchet's Naval History, p. 377.

tally ignorant of the poor figure our fleets made, when sent to the relief of Rochelle;

never so little longer. For the particulars of their most shameful deroute upon their retreat, which is, or will be, in every body's mouth, I doubt not but you know as well or better than myself. For the action in general, one of themselves, who, for his understanding and sincerity, I may term also a prophet of their own, has given me this censure of it; that it was ill begun, worse ordered in every particular, and the success accordingly most lamentable: nothing but discontents between the general and the most understanding of his soldiers, as Burroughs, Courtney, Spry; every thing done against the hair, and attempted without probability of success, and there was no hopes of mastering the place from the very beginning, especially since Michaelmas, that a very great supply came at once into the fort, and that since they relieved it at their pleasure; yet for all this the duke would stay, and would not stay, doing things by halves; for had he done either, and gone through with it, possibly it could not have been so ill as it is: for he removed his ordnance and shipped it almost a month afore he raised his siege; yet still kept his army there, fit neither for offence nor defence; and at the last, the Saturday before the unfortunate Monday he came away, would needs give a general assault, where many good men were lost, when there was no ordnance to protect them going on or coming off. *Et qualis vita, finis ita,* as they behaved themselves while they were there, so did they at their coming away; for though they knew two thousand French landed that morning in the island, and that there was at least three thousand in the two forts, the great one and the little one, (of which, by the way, we never heard; but they thought it not fit we should

which in spite of their efforts was taken, and the power of the protestants in that

know all, perhaps because they knew secrecy an essential part of war-policy) so as they could not but expect to be a little troubled with them in their marching, yet made they no provision to secure themselves: for being to pass by a narrow causey, (where more than six or eight could not go in front, and which a very small number might have made good against a million) and so by a bridge over a little passage into an island, as it were, where once being, they would be safe, there was no order taken for viewing and preparing the way; that when they came to it, there was no passage over, so as their stay there gave a great deal of time and opportunity to the enemy, who all the while followed them at their heels so close, that my lord duke himself, who, I know not by what misfortune, was in the rear, had like to have been snapped, if he had not presently made way through the troops then upon the narrow causey. And had he, the general, miscarried, what might have become, think you, of the whole army, like a body without a head, or a flock without a shepherd? But he carefully got himself on ship-board that night, to prevent the worst, and to take order for boats for the shipping of the army; but so the French falling on upon the rear, killed and took prisoner as they would themselves, helped by our own horse, who, to save themselves (which yet they could not do), broke in, and rid over our men, and put all into disorder, which made way for the slaughter; but, it seems, no resistance at all was made, but that they even disbanded, and shifted every one for himself; for sure there was no word of command given to make them face about for the repulsing of the enemy; for then it must needs have gone from hand to hand through the whole troops: and a serjeant major, that was in the van, has

kingdom thereby greatly weakened. After which Charles soon solicited a peace, which

protested unto me, they did not so much as know that any thing had been done, till afterward a pretty while; and it had been the easiest thing in the world, in that narrow place, to have beaten back the enemy, had they been never so many, or at least to have defended themselves. But the disorder and confusion was so great, the truth is, no man can tell what was done, nor no account can be given how any man was lost, not the lieutenant-colonel how his colonel, or lieutenant how his captain, or any one man knows how another was lost, which is a sign that things were very ill carried. This only every man knows, that since England was England, it received not so dishonourable a blow. Four colonels lost, thirty-two colours in the enemy's possession (but more lost), God knows how many men slain; they say not above two thousand of our side, and, I think, not one of the enemy's[a]." This was, indeed, miserable success! But what better could be expected from a man of Buckingham's turn of mind? What better from a man ignorant in arts and arms, and who was too haughty to follow the advice of those who were well versed in affairs, and capable of conducting them to advantage? But the defeat of Buckingham was not the worst consequence of this war: for Rochelle, which at first was unwilling to admit the duke of Buckingham, being persuaded by Rohan and Soubize, the protestant chiefs, declared for the English; and, in consequence thereof, endured a siege (in which it underwent hardships unparalleled in[b] modern story, except those of Isfahan in the year 1722) which terminated in the ruin of its rights, privileges,

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p. 41. See also Rohan's Memoirs, p. 148—152. [b] See Cabala, p. 272.

he procured by abandoning those whom he had drawn into the war, and submitting to

and power, and wholly subjected the protestants to the will of the French court; for the succours sent them from England were useless and unprofitable.—"Our fleet and troops being gone, the French king closely blocked up the Rochellers, who yet had some dependence upon the duke of Buckingham; for he promised them to return to their assistance: and though he did not go in person, a fleet of about fifty sail were fitted out, under the command of the earl of Denbigh, who set sail therewith from Plymouth the 17th of April, 1628, and came to an anchor in the road of Rochelle the 1st of May. Before the harbour's mouth he found twenty of the French king's ships, to which he was superior in strength, and sent word into the town, that he would sink them as soon as the winds and tide would permit; but being on the 8th of May favoured both by one and the other, and the Rochellers expecting he would do what he had promised, he, without attempting it, returned to Plymouth the 26th, which caused no small murmurings and jealousies in England. A third fleet was prepared for the relief of Rochelle, to be commanded by the duke himself, the town being then reduced to the last extremities; but he being, on the 23d of August, stabbed at Portsmouth, by one Felton, a discontented officer, the earl of Lindsey was appointed to command it, and set sail the 8th of September. The ships were but ill supplied with stores and provisions; and coming before Rochelle, they found no French navy to oppose them, but a very strong barricado across the entry of the port, to force which many brave attempts were made, but in vain; so that the Rochellers being thus distressed, and in despair, implored the French king's mercy, and surrendered on the 18th of October; soon after which a peace ensued be-

the terms which Richlieu, in the name of his master, demanded. After such ill con-

tween the two crowns, and the protestants were glad to submit to any terms, with the bare toleration of their religion[a]." What a poor figure did the English make in this war! How much fallen was she from her old glory! The king drew in the French protestants to the war; he solicited and encouraged them to seize the opportunity for the restoration to their rights and privileges, which then offered itself; he "declared he would hazard all his kingdoms, and his own person too, in so just a war, to which he found himself obliged both by conscience and honour, and that he would not listen to any treaty but jointly with them[b]." "But," says the noble author, (who bore so great a part in this war) "the assistance the town of Rochelle had from England, served only to consume their provisions, and draw a famine on the city[c]." And in another place he observes, that peace with England being made, the French king turned his whole force against the protestants[d]; so that, to prevent their destruction, he [Rohan] was forced to accept of a disadvantageous peace. For it is most certain, that Charles deserted the protestants in the war in which he had engaged them, and obtained a peace for himself, which redounded no ways to his honour. Let us hear a writer eminent in the republic of letters. "King Charles," says he, "after a great deal of trouble and vast expences, was obliged to make application to the French, by the Venetians, to obtain a disadvantageous peace, which drew upon him the contempt of strangers as well as of his own subjects. He had endeavoured to accommo-

[a] Burchet's Naval History, p. 378. History of the Edict of Nantz, vol. II. p. 443. 4to. Lond. 1694. [b] Rohan's Discourse upon the Troubles in France, at the end of his Memoirs. [c] Memoirs, p. 224. [d] Discourse on the Troubles of France, p. 53.

duct and disgrace, we may well imagine the power of Charles was not much dreaded by his neighbours. This he soon found:

date matters with Lewis XIII. whilst he was before Rochelle, by mediation of the ambassadors of the king of Denmark and the States General of the United Provinces: but answer was given to their ambassadors, that if they had power from the king of England to ask a peace for him, and to offer such satisfactions as he ought to make to France to obtain it, a negotiation should be entered into with them, but no otherwise. So brisk an answer plainly shewed, that Charles was but little feared, and that he must be forced in the end to come to what France demanded. He promised, by the treaty, to confirm the articles of the contract of the queen's marriage, which he had so many times broken and accepted with so much meanness, and which, if there was any thing to be altered for the service of the queen, was to be done with the consent of both crowns. The treaty was signed the 24th of April, 1629, by Ludovico Contarini, and Zorzo Zorzi, the ambassadors of Venice, who were empowered from England[a]."— "Thus," says the baron Puffendorf, "ended a war against two kings [of France and Spain] whose joint forces Charles was not able to cope with; by which he gained nothing but disreputation, and the dissatisfaction and resentment of his people, and an incredible sum of debts into the bargain[b]." In short, his majesty came with so little reputation out of this war with France, that his minister sent there (to carry his ratification of the peace, and to receive the oath of the French king to the observance of it) was derided to his face, as we learn from the following passage in one of Howel's let-

[a] Life of Richlieu, vol. I. p. 312, 8vo. Lond. 1695.
[b] Introduction to the History, p. 143, 8vo. Lond. 1706.

for the neutrality of his ports was violated both by the Spaniards and Dutch[31]; his subjects insulted and wronged by them, and

ters:—"Mr. controler Sir Thomas Edmonds is lately returned from France, having renewed the peace which was made up to his hands before by the Venetian ambassadors, who had much laboured in it, and had concluded all things beyond the Alps, when the king of France was at Susa to relieve Casal. The monsieur that was to fetch him from St. Denis to Paris, put a kind of jeering compliment upon him, viz. That his excellency should not think it strange, that he had so few French gentlemen to attend in this service to accompany him to the court, in regard there were so many killed in the isle of Rhee. The marquis of Chasteauneuf is here from France, and it was an odd speech also from him, reflecting upon Mr. controler, 'That the king of Great Britain used to send for his ambassadors from abroad to pluck capons at home[a].'" These jests must have cut to the quick, had Charles been a man of sensibility. But it appears not that he was touched with them, or had any resentment of them.

[31] The neutrality of his ports was violated both by the Spaniards and Dutch.] "Tho' enemies may be attacked or slain on our own ground, or our enemies on the sea, yet it is not lawful to assault, kill, or spoil him in a haven or peaceable port; but that proceeds not from their persons, but from his right," says Molloy, "who hath empire there; for civil societies have provided, that no force be used in their countries against men, but that of law, and where that is open, the right of hurting ceaseth. The Carthaginian fleet was at anchor in Syphax's port, who at that time was at peace with the Romans and Carthaginians; Scipio unawares

[a] Howel's Letters, p. 210.

also by the French: nor did he ever receive

fell into the same haven: the Carthaginian fleet being the stronger, might easily have destroyed the Romans; but yet they durst not fight them. The like did the Venetian, who hindered the Greeks from assaulting the Turkish fleet, who rid at anchor in a haven then under the government of the republick: so when the Venetian and Turkish fleet met at Tunis, though that very port acknowledges the Ottoman emperor, yet in regard that they are in the nature of a free port to themselves, and those that come there, they would provide for the peace of the same, and interdicted any hostile attempt to be made there. But they of Hambroough were not so kind to the English, when the Dutch fleet [in the first Dutch war in the time of Charles II.] fell into their road, where rid at the same time some English merchantmen; whom they assaulted, took, burnt, and spoiled; for which action, and not preserving the peace of their port, they were, by the law of nations, adjudged to answer the damage; and, I think, have paid most or all of it since[a]." And, indeed, nothing is more reasonable than for sovereigns to afford protection to the subjects of those princes that are in amity with them; it being absolutely necessary to the encouragement of commerce, and the security of such of their own people who are in foreign parts. None but governments weak in power or understanding, fail of doing it.—However, it is certain, Charles did not, or could not, maintain the neutrality of his ports, but suffered the subjects of friendly powers to be attacked and taken in them.—Lord Strafforde, in a letter to Mr. secretary Coke, dated Dublin, Aug. 3, 1633, has the following passage. "I received a letter from captain Plumleigh, which certified, that the 29th of the last

[a] Molloy de Jure Maritimo, c. I. sect. 10.

satisfaction for the affront put on him by

month, a man of war and a shallop, which alledge themselves to be of St. Sebastian's in Biscay, had taken a Hollander, lying securely at an anchor in Black Rode in the mouth of this river, by surprisal in the night; and having boarded her, and cut her cables in the half, haled her away into the sea, the king's ship being all the while within a league, yet perceiving nothing till a Bristol man, which lay close to the Hollander, and fearing like measure, slipped his cable and anchor, and so run off to the king's ship, and gave captain Plumleigh to understand thus much. Whereupon the captain commanded to weigh, and setting sail after them, very fortunately light upon the pirates about St. David's-head, and recovered the ship, from them again the last of July, bulk not broken, and thirteen of the pirates on board her, and had not the man of war put from him upon the shoals, he had taken him too; but not daring to adventure the king's ship for want of water, he escaped. Howbeit, we have the Hollander here again in harbour, and those fourteen taken on board her in this castle, two of them are Irish, the rest are Spaniards. I am of opinion, it will prove they have letters of mart from the king of Spain[a]."—And in another letter to the same person, dated the 28th of August, we have the following passages.—"The Dutch trading hither [to Dublin] are so discouraged, by reason of the continual depredations of these Biscayners, as they are ready to leave the kingdom, beginning already to call in their monies and goods, and forbear to trade with us; which, considering we have here no ships of our own built, nor yet any of the natives that give themselves to trade abroad, would infinitely impoverish this state, and wholly overthrow his majesty's customs.

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p. 100.

the Dutch admiral, in destroying the fleet

—I thought further reasonable to advertise you, that I hear there is another of the Biscayners that lies in the river of Limerick, and there took a Dutch ship in harbour, forcing those merchants to ransom their men by payment of 200*l.* How they dealt with two others in the harbour of Caricfergus, the letters inclosed of my lords Claneboy and Chichester will shew you. There are others of them on Waterford side, and so they begirt us round. I must also assure you, there are three squadrons of these pilferers belonging to St. Sebastian's, whereof one squadron is always in action, another returning, and another is fitting again to sea; and thus have they put themselves in a set and continued posture of robbing and spoyling. These particulars admit no excuse, but that the Hollanders this summer did the like to them in England, taking them from under the king's castle, for which as yet they have had no satisfaction, as indeed I confess it were most meet they should[a]."—And his lordship afterwards speaks of "a barbarous slaughter of six of our men upon the isle of Man, by one of the Spanish captains[b]."—In a letter from Robert earl of Leicester to Mr. secretary Coke, dated Paris, 23 Oct. [2d Novemb.] 1636, we have the following account of the behaviour of the Dunkirkers. "The seas are now dangerous, by reason of the Dunkirkers; and the other day Battiere, my secretary (who hath lately been with your honor), in his returns between Rye and Deepe, being in the English passage-boat with my lord Dacres, and some other gentlemen, they were met by the Dunkirkers, who (notwithstanding they were English, and provided with good passports) used violence against them, and robbed them, taking away from Battiere, in particular, amongst other

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p. 106. [b] *Id.* p. 154.

of Spain in his harbour, contrary to his

things, divers letters directed unto me, and about 50 *l.* in Spanish pistoles, which he said was money committed to his care for George Hearne, one of his majesty's servants, who was in the same boat, and rifled also; and if the sight of a Holland man of war had not made them go away, they had used them worse. The particular declaration, which Battiere and the rest made at Deepe, with the master of the boate, before the lifetenant of the admiraltye, I will send, God willing, the next week unto your honor, that some order may be taken for the safetie of the passage; for if he had had the king's packets, it is likely they would have rünne the same hazard, which are injuries not easily to be endured[a]."—Nor was this all. England now was in a low state, and as such was ill-treated by her neighbours around her. For the French bore hard on the merchants of this kingdom, as well as the Spaniards and Dutch. "It is most true," says lord Leicester, then ambassador in France, in a letter to Mr. secretary Coke, dated $\frac{26}{16}$ September, 1636, "that the French commit frequent and unsufferable insolencies upon the English, and protect them with injustices as great. His majestie's ministers may sollicite, and many times prevaile; but yet the merchant will be a loser, even in the restitution, and that will make them so afraid, that certainly the trade must needs suffer exceedingly, especially if the French persist in this dealing; which is little better than treachery, to take the English ships that are laden, in their own portes of France: therefore, Sir, I could advise, whensoever any English ship is taken by the French, and the owners have sufficiently proved in our admiralty, or the place where it may authentically be done, that the said ship was unjustly

[a] Sidney's State Papers, vol. II. p. 435.

express command. The particulars of this affair, as they are not commonly known, I will give in the note [32].

taken, and that, upon remonstrance of the same unto this state, justice be delayed, that then his majesty will be pleased to give his officers, which command at sea, orders to take the French where they can find them, or give leave to his English subjects, to satisfie themselves by reprizal; and when that is done, let us complayne and redresse on both sides, which, I beleeve, will both procure satisfaction speedily, deterre those compagnions from such free exercise of their pyratical trade, and force those that are in authority here, to take better order than hitherto hath bin. This is, and hath ever bin my opinion; for I could never find, that, by treating and pleading, any good can be done upon those who have neither conscience or justice[a]." This was bravely spoken; but the dictates of wisdom and fortitude were unheeded, at least unpractised, under the reign of this prince, who permitted himself grossly to be abused by the nations around him, as we shall see more at large in some following notes. In the mean while, one cannot but observe the national character of the French so strongly marked in this letter of lord Leicester. It paints them to the life, and shews them as in our age we have seen them. May we always be on the guard against those who have neither conscience or justice, and with whom no good is to be done by treating or pleading.

[32] The particulars of this affair, as they are not commonly known, &c.] "In 1639," says Mr. Burchet, "the Spaniards fitted out a considerable fleet under the command of Antonio de Oquendo, supposed to

[a] Sidney's State Papers, vol. II. p. 421.

In short, the reputation of the English nation, as Mr. Burchet observes, had suffered so much by the miscarriages in the

be to dislodge the Dutch ships from before Dunkirk, and land the troops there for the relief of Flanders, and the rest of the Spanish provinces.—The Dutch having two or three squadrons at sea, the Spanish fleet, coming up the Channel, was met near the streights of Dover by one of them, consisting of seventeen sail, under the command of Herbert Van Tromp; who, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority, ventured to attack them; but finding himself too weak, got to windward, sailing along towards Dunkirk, and continually firing guns as a signal to the Dutch vice-admiral, who lay off that place, to come to his assistance; who accordingly joined him the next morning between Dover and Calais, where engaging the Spaniards a very sharp fight ensued between them, which lasted several hours, wherein the Dutch had greatly the advantage; and having taken one galleon, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, at length forced them upon the English coast near Dover. This done, Tromp, being in want of powder and ball, stood away for Calais, to borrow some of the governour of that place; who presently supplying him with what he demanded, he returned again to Dover; upon whose approach the Spaniards got within the South-Foreland, and put themselves under the protection of the neighbouring castles. The two fleets continuing in this posture for many days observing each other, the ministers of both nations were not less employed in watching each other's motions at Whitehall, and encountering one another with memorials. The Spanish resident importuned the king, that he would keep the Hollanders in subjection two tides, that so in the interim, the others might

beginning of the reign of Charles, that pi-

have the opportunity of making away for Spain: but the king being in amity with them both, was resolved to stand neuter; and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English ships to transport their soldiers to Dunkirk, upon complaint made thereof by the Dutch ambassador, strict orders were given that no ships or vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects should take any Spaniards on board, or pass below Gravesend, without licence: however, after great plotting and counterplotting on both sides, the Spaniard at length somewhat outwitted his enemy, and found means, by a stratagem, in the night, to convey away through the Downs, round by the North-sand-head and the back of the Goodwin, twelve large ships to Dunkirk, and in them four thousand men; in excuse of which gross neglect of the Dutch admirals, in leaving that avenue from the Downs unguarded, the Dutch accounts say they were assured by the English, that no ships of any considerable burden could venture by night to sail that way. The two fleets had now continued in their station near three weeks, when king Charles sent the earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, to desire him to retreat upon the first fair wind; but by this time the Dutch fleet was, by continual reinforcements from Zealand and Holland, increased to a hundred sail, and seeming disposed to attack their enemies, Sir John Pennington, admiral of his majesty's fleet, who lay in the Downs with four and thirty men of war, acquainted the Dutch admiral, that he had received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties who should be first attacked. The Spaniards, however, growing too presumptuous on the protection they enjoyed, a day or two after fired some shot at Van Tromp's barge, when he was himself in her, and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board one of the Dutch ships, whose dead body

rates of all the neighbouring nations took

was presently sent on board Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards were the first aggressors, and had violated the neutrality of the king of England's harbour. Soon after which the Dutch admiral came to a resolution of attacking the Spaniards; but before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to admiral Pennington, telling him, that the Spaniards having, in the instances before mentioned, infringed the liberties of the king's harbour, and become the aggressors, he found himself obliged to retaliate force with force, and attack them; in which, pursuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on his assistance; which, however, if he should not be pleased to grant, he prayed the favour that he would at least give him leave to engage the enemy, otherwise he should have just cause of complaint to all the world of so manifest an injury. This letter being delivered to the English admiral, Van Tromp bore up to the Spaniards in six divisions, and charged them so furiously with his broadsides, and his fireships, as forced them all to cut their cables; and being three and fifty in number, twenty-three ran ashore, and stranded in the Downs, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore; one of which was a great galleon (the vice-admiral of Galicia), commanded by Antonio de Castro, and mounted with fifty-two brass guns: the remainder of the twenty-three stranded, and deserted by the Spaniards, were manned by the English, to save them from the Dutch. The other thirty Spanish ships, with Don Antonio de Oquendo, the commander in chief, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, got out to sea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog arising, the Dutch took advantage thereof, interposed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the admiral of

the liberty to infest the narrow seas; yea,

Portugal began to flame, being fired by two Dutch ships fitted for that purpose, which De Oquendo perceiving, presently stood away for Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place, and some few ships more; for of these thirty, five were sunk in the fight, eleven taken and sent into Holland, three perished upon the coast of France, one near Dover, and only ten escaped. I have been the more particular in the account of this engagement, because of the relation it hath to our own affairs, and have reported it in all its circumstances (the most material of which have been omitted, even in that said to be Sir John Pennington's own account of it), for that otherwise the English government would appear to have departed from the common rights of all nations, in suffering one friend to destroy another within its chambers, and not animadverting upon the Dutch for that proceeding, did it not appear that the Spaniards committed the first hostility, which was the plea the others made in their justification: for though, by the law of nations, I am not to attack my enemy in the dominions of a friend common to that enemy and myself, yet no laws, natural, divine, or human, forbid me to repel force with force, and act in my defence, when or wheresoever I am attacked. But, however, it must be confessed the Dutch well knew their time; and had the like circumstances happened twelve or fourteen years after, when the usurper ruled, they would probably have waited for further hostilities from their enemy (one or two random shot only being liable to exception, and to be excused as accidental), before they had ventured upon such an action[a]."—But whether the Spaniards had committed the first hostility or

[a] Burchet's Naval History, p. 279—281. See also Whitlock's Memorials, p. 31.

the ships and coasts of these islands were

no, the Dutch admiral would certainly have attacked them, as appears from the following passages in a letter from count D'Estrades to cardinal Richlieu, dated Aug. 26, 1639. "The prince [of Orange] desired that I should write to you, that the orders you had sent to the sea-ports of France to assist the fleet of the states, had determined him to fight the Spanish fleet in the Downs, whither he had certain advice they would repair, and give orders to admiral Tromp not to engage so soon; but to detach a squadron, in order to harass such as he found separate from the main body of the fleet, and to follow them close until they should get into the Downs, and then to draw up his fleet in a line of battle in the entry to the Downs, there to wait till such time the admiral of Zealand, John Evressens, should join him; after which he should send a flag-officer to the admiral of England, to acquaint him, that he had orders from the States to fight their enemy wherever he should find them, and to desire him to withdraw the king of England's ships, as he had orders from the States not to engage with them, unless they should join themselves to the enemy; but in case they would not remain neuter, his orders were to fight both one and the other." His orders we see were well executed, and an action performed (in the opinion of D'Estrades) "the most illustrious which could be thought of, that of defeating the fleet of Spain in an English port, though assisted by English ships [a]."

It will be proper to compare this with what follows, contained in a letter from Algernon earl of Northumberland, to Robert earl of Leicester, dated Windsor, Oct. 10, 1639. "His majestie's designs are a little to be wondered at, that he should endanger the receiving

[a] D'Estrade's Letters and Negotiations, p. 29. 8vo. Lond. 1755.

exposed to the rapine and barbarity of the

an affront, and expose his ships to much hazard, rather than commaund both the Spanish and Holland fleets out of the Downs. He sayeth now, that at his return to London on Saturday next, he will appoint a time for them to depart out of his roade, which is all the Hollanders desire. They have at this instant above one hundred sail of men of warre, besids fyre-ships: this great force of theirs, makes them begin to talk more boldly than hitherto they have donne; for their admiral hath lately sent Pennington word, that they have alreadie had patience enough, and that they will no longer forbear, for his instructions are to destroy his enemies wheresoever he can find them, without exceptions of any place; and it is howerly expected that they should assault the Dons. What will become of our six ships that are there, I know not; for their direction is to assist those that are assaulted. The other ships that were made ready on this occasion, have layn windbound in the river these ten days, and cannot yet possiblie get out, by reason of the easterly winds that have blowne constantly near three weeks. The Spaniards pretended, that the want of powder was a principal cause of their long stay: whereupon the Holland admiral sent to offer them 500 barrels, paying for it the usual rates; but the Spaniards would not accept of it[a]."—In a letter written to the same, Nov. 28, 1639, from London, he says, "On Sunday last Arssens [the Dutch ambassador] had a private audience from the king. It was expected that he should have made an appollogie to have given his majestie satisfaction for the late violation offered by them in the Downs; but I do not hear that he mentioned that particular[b]." And in a third letter, written by him to lord Leicester, from

[a] Sidney's State Papers, vol. II. p. 612.

[b] Id. p. 620.

Turks, who carried numbers into capti-

London, Dec. 19, 1639, he says, "The expresse sent from hence to Spaine with the newse of the defeate of their fleete, returned to this court some days since; and upon Sunday last the dispatches brought by him from Sir Arthur Hopton, were communicated to the foreign committee. Those letters say, that this messenger brought to Madrid the first newse of that overthrow, which much troubled them; but the conde of Olivares told our ambassador, that if our king would be sensible of the affront done unto him, in this action, by those base people, the king of Spain would rest well satisfied, and not at all regard the losse of those ships; for the next year they intended to have five times as many in these seas as were in that fleete. Arssens hath, since my last writing to your lordship, excused, with the best reasons he could bring, the carriage of their admiral in the Downs[a]."——It is, I think, plain, from comparing these relations, that the behaviour of the Dutch in this affair arose chiefly from the consideration of the weakness of Charles. The English court considered it as an insult: they expected an apology for it; and the Dutch ambassador made the best excuse he was able, which, probably, was but a very poor one. A spirited prince would have had a satisfaction as public as the injury itself, and thereby have shewn the world that he was worthy of the sovereignty of those seas which he claimed. May it never again be the fate of the British nation to be thus treated; but may it always assert its rights, and avenge itself on those who shall presume to set its power at defiance! Wise and honest counsels, public economy, vigorous measures, and a regard to the subjects' liberty, will enable a British king to render himself respectable to his

[a] Sidney's State Papers, vol. II. p. 625.

vity.[33]—So feeble was the government,

fellow sovereigns, and effectually hinder them from treating him with contempt, either by words or actions. Heaven grant such a prince may be the lot of this island at all times!

[33] The ships of these islands were exposed to the rapine and barbarity of the Turks, &c.] I will confirm this by authorities most unexceptionable. Lord Wentworth, appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, in a letter to the lord-treasurer, dated Westminster, 9th June, 1633, writes as follows: "They write me lamentable news forth of Ireland, what spoil is done there by the pirates. There is one lyes upon the Welch coast, which it seems is the greatest vessel, commanded by Norman: another in a vessel of some sixty tons, called the Pick-pocket of Dover, lies in sight of Dublin: and another lies near Youghall, who do so infest every quarter, as the farmers have already lost in their customs a thousand pounds at least: all trade being by this means at a stand. The pirate that lies before Dublin, took, on the 20th of the last month, a bark of Liverpool, with goods worth 4000*l.* and amongst them as much linnen as cost me 500*l.* and in good faith, I fear I have lost my apparel too; which if it be so, will be as much loss more unto me: besides the inconvenience which lights upon me, by being disappointed of my provisions upon the place. By my faith, this is but a cold welcome they bring me withall to that coast, and yet I am glad at least that they escaped my plate; but the fear I had to be thought to linger here unprofitably, forced me to make this venture; where now I wish I had had a little more care of my goods, as well as of my person. The same villain set upon a Dutchman the 19th of the same month, and boarded her; but they defended themselves so well, as having blown up four of his men, the pirate gave them over: but in revenge he light of another

or so careless of the welfare of the people!

Hollander, on the one and twentieth day, and pursued her so near, as enforced them to run on ground, to save themselves within sight of Dublin. The pirate, for all that gave them not over; but in despight of all the help the lords justices could give them from land (by sending men to beat him off the shore), entered and rifled the bark, taking out what they pleased, setting her on fire, so as there she burnt two days together, till it came to the water, and was then all in a flame, when my cousin Radcliffe writ me that letter, to be seen forth of his majesty's castle. She was about two hundred tun in content. The loss and misery of this is not so great, as the scorn that such a picking villain as this, should dare to do these insolences in the face of that state, and to pass away without controul: yet I beseech your lordship, give me leave to tell you once for all, that if there be not a more timely and constant course held hereafter in setting forth the ships for guarding the coast there, by the admiralty here, the money paid for that purpose thence, is absolutely cast away; the farmers of the customs will be directly undone, and the whole kingdom grow beggarly and barbarous, for want of trade and commerce[a]." And in another of his letters to Mr. secretary Coke, dated 3d June, 1633, we have the following passage. "Here inclosed I have sent you two letters, by which you will find, what a disquiet is given to the trades and commerce of that kingdom, through the daily robbing and spoil the pyrates do upon the subjects in those parts, so as it were madness in me to think of crossing the sea, without captain Plumleigh to carry me and my company over in safety. The pyrate hath already light of two hundred pounds of my goods; but I should be sorry indeed

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p. 90.

However, in justice to the memory of

his majesty's deputy were endangered through my untimely haste, and, which is more, my master's honour suffer thereby over all Christendom, in which relation I hold myself more bound to look to myself, that I neither suffer nor do any mean thing, than in any other respect whatsoever, to my own private. Captain Plumleigh is now at length got forth of the river, which, I am sure, I have by all means sollicited the dispatch of, and have at length been forced to lay forth seven hundred pounds of my own money to set him forward, so far I am from studying unnecessary delays; and now, God willing, so soon as ever I shall have notice that the king's ship is ready to carry me over, I will not stay a minute of time in this place; but to stir before were of no use at all, saving to put an unnecessary charge upon his majesty by my bills of transportation[a]." How low in these times was the British marine! how little regarded its power! But to go on.—The lords justices of Ireland, in a letter to the lord-deputy, dated Dublin, Feb. 26, 1631, acquaints him, "That they had lately, by their letters humbly represented to the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, certain intelligences which they had received of attempts intended by the Turks the next summer, against the western coasts of Munster. Since which dispatch, say they, we have received further advertizements which confirm us in a belief that they do indeed intend some attempt against us. And although the place of their descent here is yet uncertain, yet we find reason to conceive that Baltimore (a weak English corporation on the sea-coast, in the west part of that provence, whence the Turks took the last summer above a hundred English inhabitants) is not the most unlikely place they may

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p. 84.

this prince, the reader ought to be informed,

attempt[a]."—And the lord-deputy Wentworth, in a letter to Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, dated Gawthorp, Aug. 17, 1636, writes as follows: "The pillage the Turks have done upon the coast is most insufferable, and to have our subjects thus ravished from us, and at after to be from Rochelle driven over land in chains to Marseilles, all this under the sun, is the most infamous usage of a Christian king, by him suffered that wears Most Christian in his title, that I think was ever heard of. Surely I am of opinion, if this be past over in silence, the shipping business will not only be much backened by it, but the sovereignty of the narrow seas become an empty title, and all our trade in fine utterly lost[b]."

In a letter to Mr. secretary Coke, dated Wentworth, Sept. 16, 1636, he has these words also: "The Turks still annoy that coast [the Irish]. They came of late into the harbour of Corke, took a boat which had eight fishermen in her, and gave chace to two more, which saved themselves amongst the rocks, the townsmen looking on the whilst, without means to help them. This is an oppression to make a wise man mad indeed, that these miscreants should at our doors do us this open dishonour, and will require both a speedy and thorough remedy, such as may carry our safety along with it for the future it being most certain, that visibly already, there will be at the least seven or eight thousand pounds loss in those customs this half year; and if this should continue but one year more, would prejudice the trade of both kingdoms, more than I fear could be repaired in many years again, with extream prejudice to the crown, more than is yet foreseen[c]."

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p. 68. [b] Id. vol. II. p. 25.
[c] Id. vol. II. p. 34.

that once he asserted the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the British

Sir Philip Warwick also observes, "that the Algier pirats infested our seas, even in our own channel[a]." They even made such captures, that, according to Mr. Waller, they "had in the year 1641, between four and five thousand of our countrymen captives in that country[b]." No wonder then the house of commons appointed "a committee to receive, and to take into consideration, the petitions that are or shall be preferred on the behalf of the prisoners and captives of Algiers, Tunis, or elsewhere, under the Turks dominions, and to present the state of them to the house, and some speedy way for their redress." This was on the 10th of Decemb. 1640. "On May 24th, 1641, upon Mr. King's report from the committee for the captives of Algiers, it was resolved, that his majesty be moved to send some fit person, at the charge of the merchants, to the Grand Seignior, to demand the English captives in Algiers, and other the Turks dominions; and that in some convenient time after such person's departure out of England, a fleet of twenty ships and pinances be sent to Algiers, to assail the town and their ships, if the captives be not delivered upon demand[c]." A resolution this, worthy of the representatives of a brave and free people? But through the hurry of the times, and the calamities of the civil war which ensued, it came to nothing, and the Turks continued their depredations: for "in July 1645, twenty-six children were taken at once by the Turks from off the coasts of Cornwall[d]." So little was the security for property and liberty, under the reign of this monarch.

[a] Memoirs, p. 50. [b] Waller's Poems, &c. by Fenton, p. 271. 8vo. Lond. 1730. [c] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 92, 276. [d] Symmon's Vindication of K. Charles, p. 110.

seas, by compelling the Dutch to buy the liberty of fishing in them[34]: and also that

[34] He asserted the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the British seas, by compelling the Dutch to buy the liberty of fishing in them.] "The Dutch, upon pretence of some arguments for the freedom of navigation, and community of the sea, which the learned Hugo Grotius, their countryman, had made use of in a treatise, stiled Mare Liberum, began to challenge a right to the fishery on our coasts, which, by the connivance of our princes, they had been tolerated in the use of. To refute those arguments of theirs, and defend that claim of ours, the famous Mr. Selden was employed by the king to write his excellent Mare Clausum, wherein he having with great industry, learning, and judgment, asserted the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the British seas, the king paid such honour to the performance, that shortly after the publication, he made an order in council, that one of those books should be kept in the council-chest, another in the court of exchequer, and a third in the court of admiralty, as a faithful and strong evidence to the dominion of the British sea. But more effectually to assert the same, a fleet of sixty stout ships of war was, the same year [1636], fitted out under the command of Algernon earl of Northumberland, now made lord high admiral, who sailing to the northward, where the Dutch busses were fishing on our coasts, required them to desist; which they not readily doing, he fired at them, took and burnt some, and dispersed the rest; whereupon the Dutch sollicited the admiral to mediate with the king, that they might have leave to go on with their fishing this summer, for which they would pay to his majesty thirty thousand pounds; and they accordingly

he refused to promise a neutrality with

did so, and signified their inclination to have a grant from the king to do the like for the future, upon paying a yearly tribute[a]."—Sir Philip Warwick also writes, "that the earl of Northumberland was, in the year 1636, sent out to sea with a navy of about sixty ships, to interrupt the Holland fishing on our coast and on the north seas: he took many of their busses, and dispersed others; which brought the States general to make such an application to the king, as might in the future obtain his licence and permission, which the king conceived a vindication of his right and dominion. Yet though some particular busses paid for their licences, the terms of agreement were like nails well driven, but not well clincht; so as our neighbours were not fast held, and it made them more susceptible of obstinate counsels from France, who were at that time undermining our peace by Scotland[b]."—The English court, indeed, imagined that the French encouraged the Dutch in their fishing on our coasts, and by its ambassador complained thereof at Paris. The French denied what they were charged with, and declared, "that if any thing should happen, which might cause difference between the king of Great Britain and the Hollanders, they would interpose, and do the best they could to bring the Hollanders to perform all such acts unto the king as might express their respect and honor unto his person, and gratitude to his crown, for the obligations they had received, even as great as their conservation amounted to[c]." But these were only words. The Dutch, though disturbed in their fishing, and obliged to pay a sum of money to the king, for his permission

[a] Burchet's Naval History, p. 379. [b] Memoirs, p. 118. [c] Sidney's State Papers, p. 400.

regard to Flanders, when it was intended to go quietly on with it for the present, continued the same afterwards, without deigning to accept of the licences offered. For what Mr. Burchet and Sir Philip Warwick write about "their signifying their inclination to have a grant from the king to fish for the future, upon paying a yearly tribute; and their application that they might in the future obtain his licence and permission so to do," is a mistake; as will appear from the following passage, in a letter from the reverend Mr. Garrard, (a great correspondent of lord Strafforde's, and very intimate with the earl of Northumberland) to the lord-deputy of Ireland, dated Sion, Oct. 9, 1637. "Little hath the king's fleet, under the command of my lord of Northumberland, done this summer at sea. The Dutch absolutely refused to take licences for their fishing, although now it is said, they were never offered them; yet all know that captain Fielding was sent into the Scotish seas in the end of July to offer them. Had the whole fleet come, perhaps they would not have refused; but they knew well enough that one ship could not force them, they having twenty men of war of their own to guard them [a]."

The times were much altered, we may see by this, since the reign of queen Elizabeth; when Sir Walter Raleigh assures us, he remembered one ship of her majesty's would have made forty Hollanders strike sail, and to come to anchor. "They did not then," says that admirable man, "dispute de Mari Libero but readily acknowledged the English to be Domini Maris Britannici [b]." So true is the observation of cardinal Richlieu, "that the empire of the sea was never well secured to any. It has," adds he, "been subject to

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 117. [b] Raleigh's Works, vol. II. p. 83. 8vo. Lond. 1751.

to have been divided by the French and

divers revolutions, according to the inconstancy of its nature; so subject to the wind, that it submits to him who courts it most, and whose power is so unbounded that he is in a condition to possess it with violence, against all those who might dispute it with him. In a word, the old titles of that dominion are force, and not reason: a prince must be powerful, to pretend to that heritage[a]."—It appears from the foregoing letter of Mr. Garrard's, that this affair with the Dutch was in 1637, not in 1636, as the authors I have quoted above affirm.

This disturbing the Dutch fishing busses, naturally leads me to observe, that the erecting and encouraging a British herring-fishery, in opposition to, or imitation of the Dutch, has been recommended by the best patriots, from Sir Walter Raleigh's to the present time. "It has been all along a most unaccountable negligence in the people of England, that we have not made some effectual endeavours to share with our neighbours, in that immense treasure with which nature has enriched our coast.——Sir Walter Raleigh has laid down, that the fishery turns to ten millions per annum profit to the Hollanders. We can by no means agree to that calculation; but that it is very gainful to their country, is apparent to any one who has inquired into the nature of their trade, and foundation of their wealth. Those great advantages are made on our coast, where formerly they never fished without licence under the great seal of England, which, till the latter end of king James the First's reign, they always procured; but now they are so far from asking leave, that they will not suffer any English vessels to fish in

[a] Richlieu's Political Testament, part II. p. 81. 8vo. Lond. 1695.

Dutch, though he was requested by Rich-

quiet, when they come among them. This beneficial trade, which the Hollanders have often, in their edicts, called the golden mine of the commonwealth, we first by remissness let them gain; and now they have in a manner engrossed it to themselves, because it never had encouragement from the government here, and because the public spirit has been wanting among us, by which any great work must be brought about[a]." But public spirit in our days, with regard to this fishery, has exerted itself, and the government has given it encouragement; and yet, after all, there are still understanding men to be found, who think that it is not possible for us to have any part with our neighbours in this gainful business. For it is "alledged, the Hollanders build cheaper than we; that their wages are lower; that they live at less expence; that the interest of money is higher here than there; that consequently they can afford the commodity at an easier rate; and that he who sells cheapest is sure to engross the market[b]." It is to be hoped the bounty of the government, and the zeal of the gentlemen concerned in so truly laudable an undertaking, will render these objections invalid, and evidence to all, that we are capable of making a right use of what Heaven has so bountifully bestowed upon us. The British fishery, could it once be firmly established, would be a fine nursery for seamen, an employment for the poor, and a source of wealth to these kingdoms, greater than by many can well be imagined. As such may it have the good wishes, and assistance of all true lovers of their country.

[a] Davenant's Discourses on the Publick Revenues, part II. p. 135. 8vo. Lond. 1698. [b] Id. p. 136.

lieu most earnestly so to do, and great seeming advantages proposed to him, to bring him to a compliance[35].

[35] He refused to promise a neutrality with regard to Flanders, &c.] In the instructions of cardinal Richlieu to count d'Estrades, on his being sent into England by Lewis XIII. dated Rouel, Nov. 12, 1637, he tells him, "he caused him to be sent into England on the part of his majesty, with a design to dispose the king of England not to furnish any succours to the towns on the coast of Flanders, in case the king and the prince of Orange should attack any of them during this campaign."—He moreover adds, "as the States [of Holland] have as much concern as the king to have this point cleared up, the sieur Vaussebergue will embark at the same time as the count d'Estrades sets out from hence, in order to repair to London, and confer with the king of England on the same subject[a]."

D'Estrades arrived in London on the 19th of the same month; and in a letter to the cardinal, dated the 24th, gave him an account of his success in the words following. "I was received very graciously by the king of England, and spoke to him agreeable to the orders I received from your eminence, and represented to him all the advantages he would receive from a strict friendship with the king, by complying with his request, by which his subjects would reap very great advantages by furnishing the armies with necessaries, which would bring a great deal of money into England; and that being master of the sea, and remaining neutral, even the Spanish army, as the whole country of Flanders, must be supplied by the English shipping:

[a] Letters and Negotiations of Count d'Estrades, p. 1, 3; and d'Orlean's History of the Revolutions of England, p. 25. 8vo. Lond. 1710.

To these instances of Charles's regard to the honour and interest of the British crown,

that your eminence had commanded me to assure him, you would contribute all in your power to maintain a strict union and friendship between him and the king, and even to persuade his majesty to lend him succours against any of his subjects that should have bad intentions against him. His answer was, he would do all that was in his power, to testify how much he desired the king's friendship, provided that what he asked was of no prejudice to his honour, and the interest of his kingdom; which last would be the case, if he should permit either the king or the states of Holland to attack the sea-port towns of Flanders: and to prevent this, he would have his fleet in readiness in the Downs, in condition to act, with fifteen thousand men ready to be transported into Flanders, for the defence of the said towns, if necessary: that he thanked your eminence for your offers and civilities; but he wanted no assistance to punish such of his subjects as should fail in their duty, that being sufficiently secured by his own authority, and the laws of the kingdom[a]."

This answer was worthy of a British monarch, though it so much provoked the cardinal, that his eminence threatened the year should not end, before both the king and queen of England should repent their having refused the proposals d'Estrades made on the king's part[b]. And certain it is, this minister was near as good as his word; for he did what in him lay to heighten the uneasiness of Charles's subjects in Scotland, and excite them to avenge themselves for the inroads made on their laws, liberties, and religion,

[a] Letters and Negotiations of Count d'Estrades, p. 7. and d'Orleans's History of the Revolutions of England. [b] Id. p. 8.

I will also add an account of the chastise-

by the arbitrary and superstitious commands of those in power; and also contributed greatly to the affront put on him by the Dutch, in the eyes of the whole world, when they violated the neutrality of his ports, and destroyed the Spanish fleet which had taken sanctuary there. But had Charles meanly submitted to the demands of Richlieu, matters, I am persuaded, would not have been much mended. The Scotch troubles would have happened without the aid of France, and the Dutch would not have been restrained by the French minister from acting as they did: it being of the utmost consequence to them, to break the naval force of Spain, and deprive Flanders of the supplies which her fleet contained. The imagination, therefore, of a late writer was too much heated, when he observes, "that Charles lost both his crown and life by refusing to accept of a neutrality, so contrary to the trade and interest of his kingdom, and the dignity of his crown[a];" and "that from hence was conjured up those black scenes of horror, blood, anarchy, and confusion, that ensued in these kingdoms; the catastrophe of which ended in the destruction of the king, of the church, and of the whole constitution." For a little knowledge of the English history will suffice to demonstrate that these had their rise from far other causes than the refusal of this neutrality. However, it cannot be denied, but that it was greatly to Charles's honour to answer as he did, and shewed a sense of the interest of the nation. The seaports of Flanders, on account of their situation, are of the utmost importance to England. To have suffered these quietly to have been possessed by Holland and France, in the then state of things, would have been

[a] Preface to the Translation of d'Estrades' Letters, &c. p. 4.

ment he gave to the town of Salle[36], in

the exposing the subjects of these kingdoms to the insults of their commanders at sea, and giving them an opportunity of depriving them of the most valuable branches of commerce, or rendering its effects very precarious. Add to this, that those who are possessed of these places, if masters of a sufficient naval force, have it in their power to alarm us constantly by descents and invasions: and therefore it must be the interest of England to take care that they fall not into the hands of those who are our inveterate enemies.

[36] I will add an account of the chastisement he gave to the town of Salle.] Among Mr. Waller's poems, there is one on the taking of Salle, in which are the following lines:

SALLE, that scorn'd all powers and laws of men,
Goods with their owners hurrying to their den;
And future ages threat'ning with a rude
And savage race, successively renew'd:
Their king despising with rebellious pride,
And foes profest to all the world beside:
This pest of mankind gives our hero fame,
And thro' th' obliged world dilates his name.
The prophet once to cruel Agag said,
As thy fierce sword has mothers childless made,
So shall the sword make thine: and with that word
He hew'd the man in pieces with his sword.
Just Charles like measure has return'd to these,
Whose pagan hands had stain'd the troubled seas:
With ships, they made the spoiled merchant mourn;
With ships, their city and themselves are torn.
One squadron of our winged castles sent,
O'erthrew their fort, and all their navy rent:
For not content the dangers to increase,
And act the part of tempests in the seas;
Like hungry wolves, those pirates from our shore
Whole flocks of sheep and ravish'd cattle bore.
Safely they might on other nations prey;
Fools to provoke the sov'reign of the sea!
. . . . . .

conjunction with the king of Morocco;

> Morocco's monarch, wond'ring at this fact,
> Save that his presence his affairs exact,
> Had come in person to have seen and known
> The injur'd world's revenger, and his own.
> Hither he sends the chief among his peers,
> Who in his bark proportion'd presents bears,
> To the renown'd for piety and force,
> Poor captives manumis'd, and matchless horse.

Mr. Fenton, in his observations on Mr. Waller's poems, explains these lines in the following manner; "Salle is a city in the province of Fez, and derives its name from the river Sala, on which it is situated, near its influx into the Atlantic ocean. It was a place of good commerce, till addicting itself entirely to piracy, and revolting from its allegiance to the emperor of Morocco, in the year 1632, he sent an embassy to king Charles, desiring him to send a squadron of men of war to lie before the town, whilst he attacked it by land: which the king consenting to, the city was soon reduced, the fortifications demolished, and the leaders of the rebellion put to death. The year following the emperor sent another embassador, with a present of fine Barbary horses, and three hundred Christian slaves: at the same time desiring his majesty, that since it had pleased God to be so auspicious to their beginning, in the conquest of Salle, they might join and succeed, with hope of like success, in war against Tunis, Algiers, and other places, dens and receptacles for the inhuman villanies of those that abhor rule and government[a]." Where Mr. Fenton had this account I cannot say, he too often neglecting to inform his readers in what authors the facts he relates are to be found.

But be that as it will, it is certain the date given by him is wrong; for it was not in 1632, but 1636, that

[a] Fenton's Observations, p. 19.

whereby he obtained the liberty of a great

it was determined to send a squadron against Salle, and in 1637 it was besieged and taken.—Mr. secretary Coke, in a letter to the lord-deputy Strafforde, dated Whitehall, 20th of February, 1636, writes, "This day captain Rainsborough, an experienced and worthy seaman, taketh his leave of his majesty, and goeth instantly to sea with four good ships and two pinnaces to the coast of Barbary, with instructions and resolution to take all Turkish pyrates he can meet, and to block up the port of Sally, and to free the sea from these rovers, which he is confident to perform. The king of Morocco hath already offered to comply with his majesty for suppression of these enemies of mankind; and the Basha and governors of Argier have also written to his majesty, to desire good correspondence with him and his subjects, and to have an English consul there to see the agreement performed; so there remaineth only Sally, which we presume this summer will be bro't to better terms[a]." What the event was will be seen from the following extracts, which, I doubt not, will be agreeable to the reader, as they contain some facts hardly known to our common historians.—The reverend Mr. Garrard, in a letter to lord Strafforde, dated Hatfield, July 24, 1637, informs him, "That from the fleet my lord Northumberland writes him, that captain Rainsborough hath made hitherto a very successful voyage to Sallee; neither our English coasts, nor your Irish, have this year been infested with those Turkish Moorish vermine, who other years have done much hurt: he keeps them in, that they cannot stir out at sea: besides, the Saint there by land besieges them with ten thousand horse and six thousand foot; so that they con-

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 50.

number of his subjects, who had been taken

ceive a great hope to get all the English and Irish captives in their hands, and to bar them hereafter for venturing in our seas. My lord-general hath obtained longer leave of his majesty for captain Rainsborough to stay out until the end of November, and is now sending a ship and one pinnace to victual him for two months longer[a]." In a letter of the 9th of October the same year, this gentleman thus writes to the same lord Strafforde. "The fleet sent to Sallee by his majesty, under the conduct of captain Rainsborough, captain Cartwright, and others, consisting of four ships and two pinnaces, hath had good success. So that neither our English, nor your Irish coasts, shall be troubled any more with them. The Sallee men this year had ships in readiness to come forth of good number, intending their voyage for England and Ireland, were ready to set sail when our fleet came before the town, but they kept them in. The Saint who lives upon the land, seeing captain Rainsborough besiege them by sea, doth the like by land. The Moors presently sold away a thousand of their captives, our king's subjects, to those of Tunis and Argiers. The Saint and captain Rainsborough treat and agree to do their best to take the new town: he goes ashore, teaches them to mount their cannon, and how to use them; the new town thus beset, remove their governor, turn him out of town, because of the fierce displeasure of the Saint against him. He goes to the king of Morocco, makes his complaint against the Saint, (who is indeed but a rebel; for all those places of right belong to that king) saith, he will, by the help of the English fleet, gain the new town. Upon this advertisement the king of Morocco gathers an army, is

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 86.

into captivity; and by a solemn embassy upon his march, which the Saint hearing, burns up all the corn within ten miles of Sallee, and spoils the country; yet sends him, upon his nearer approach, some necessaries for himself, great herds of cows, and flocks of sheep, which was a great relief to his army, who, with their long marches, were weak and feeble; but advises his majesty not to come nearer, lest some differences should arise betwixt their two armies, which would not easily be accommodated, should they meet: he stays, many of the soldiers fall sick and dye, many run away, so that he is resolved to retire, sending the governor with some others, and an English merchant, to treat with the town to deliver it up to him, and not to the Saint. They come aboard captain Rainsborough, confer with him, then return again into the town. The king offers to join in a league with our king, promises that never hereafter any of our coasts shall be infested by their ships, delivers two hundred and ninety of our captives to Rainsborough, (which captain Cartwright hath already brought home) saith, that the thousand sold away to those of Argiers and Tunis shall be redeemed and delivered back; for which purpose captain Rainsborough is gone to Saphy, forty leagues from Sallee, to treat for them, and, I believe, by this is on his way home. They have, since their coming thither, sunk in the harbour, burnt, and battered to pieces, twenty-eight of their ships before the new town, which surely will by the Moors be delivered up to the king of Morocco and not to the Saint. How we came off from farther treating with the Saint, I know not; neither the letters nor captain Cartwright give any satisfaction therein[a]." Towards the conclusion of this letter Mr.

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 115.

received the thanks of that prince, and assurances of his favour and friendship.

Thus much with respect to Charles's behaviour towards the nations around him. Let us now view him at home. On the 2d

Garrard adds, "Captain Rainsborough is newly come into the Downs, hath put the new town of Sallee into the king of Morocco's hands, hath made a peace with that king; so that none of his majestie's coasts shall any more hereafter be troubled by those pyratical subjects of that king: he hath brought with him an ambassador from the king of Morocco, to renew antient amities betwixt the two crowns, who hath brought with him presents of Barbary horses and hawks to his majesty. I saw the list of the captives 370, many of them Irish[a]."

This ambassador, on the 5th of November, 1637, had his audience at court. "He rid on horseback," says Mr. Garrard, "through the streets, my lord of Shrewsbury conducting him with twelve gentlemen of the privy-chamber, his own company, and some city captains. His present of four Barbary horses was led along in rich caparisons, and richer saddles, with bridles set with stones; also some hawks, many of the captives whom he brought over going along a-foot, clad in white. He himself is a Portugal born, brought a child into Barbary, an eunuch, and the third person of that kingdom. He is come to renew the old league and amities that hath been betwixt the two crowns, and to render thanks to his majesty, as the chief instrument of restoring Salle to his obedience, by sending his fleet thither, which, as long as his master holds it,

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 118.

day of February, 1625, O. S. he was crowned by Abbot archbishop of Canterbury, Laud bishop of St. David's assisting. The coronation[37] oath being supposed different from that used to be administered to our

shall never again infest any of our king's subjects*." Thus ended this affair, which reflects some honour on the memory of Charles, and shews him not wholly unmindful of his own honour, or the wrongs he had received. Though from the smallness of the squadron sent on the expedition, we may probably conclude, that had not the circumstance of intestine commotions and domestic quarrels intervened, it would have returned without honour or success. But, fortunately for Charles, by means of the Saint and the king of Morocco, his fleet was of use, and he had the satisfaction of being praised by his subjects, and thanked by the prince whom he had assisted.

[37] The coronation-oath being supposed different from that used by our former kings, occasioned many censures both of this prince and Laud.] Let us hear Heylin. "The king's coronation now draws on, for which solemnity he had appointed the feast of the purification of the Blessed Virgin, better known by the name of Candlemas-day. The coronations of king Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth, had been performed according to the rites and ceremonies of the Roman pontificals; that at the coronation of king James had been drawn up in haste, and wanted many things which might have been considered of in a time of leisure. His majesty therefore issueth a commission to the archbishop of Canterbury, and certain other bishops, whereof Laud was one,

* Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 129.

kings, occasioned many censures both of

to consider of the form and order of the coronation, and to accommodate the same more punctually to the present rules and orders of the church of England. On the 4th of January, the commissioners first met to consult about it; and having compared the form observed in the coronation of king James with the public rituals, it was agreed upon amongst them to make some alterations in it, and additions to it. The alteration in it was, that the unction was to be performed in *forma crucis*, after the manner of a cross, which was accordingly done by Abbot, when he officiated as archbishop of Canterbury in the coronation. The additions in the form consisted chiefly in one prayer or request to him, in the behalf of the clergy, and the clause of another prayer for him to Almighty God; the last of which was thought to have ascribed too much power to the king, the first to themselves, especially by advancing of the bishops and clergy above the laity. The prayer or request which was made to him, followed after the unction, and was this, viz.

'Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the bishops, and servants of God; and as you see the clergy to come nearer to the altar than others, so remember that in place convenient you give them greater honor; that the mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne, to be the mediator between the clergy and laity; that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the king of kings, and lord of lords, who with the Father and Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.'

"The clause of that prayer which was made for him

this prince and Laud: these will be found

had been intermitted since the time of Henry VI. and was this that followeth, viz.

'Let him obtain favour for the people, like Aaron in the tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the temple: give him Peter's key of discipline, and Paul's doctrine.'

"Which clause had been omitted in times of popery, as intimating more ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be given to our kings, than the popes allowed of; and for the same reason, was now quarrelled at by the puritan faction.

"It was objected commonly in the time of his [Laud's] fall, that in digesting the form of the coronation, he altered the coronation-oath, making it more advantageous to the king, and less beneficial to the people, than it had been formerly; from which calumny his majesty cleared both himself and the bishop, when they were both involved by common speech in the guilt thereof. For the clearer manifestation of which truth, I will first set down the oath itself, as it was taken by the king; and then the king's defence for the taking of it. Now the oath is this.

"The form of the coronation-oath.

'Sir, (says the archbishop) will you grant, keep, and by your oath confirm to your people of England, the laws and customs to them granted by the kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors; and namely, the laws, customs, and franchises granted to the clergy, by the glorious king St. Edward your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the antient customs of this land?'

"The king answers, 'I grant and promise to keep them.'

at large in the note, though, notwithstanding all that has been said, they were, per-

"Archbishop. 'Sir, will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely (according to your power), both to God, the holy church, the clergy, and the people?'

"Rex. 'I will keep it.'

"Archbishop. 'Sir, will you to your power cause justice, law, and discretion in mercy and truth, to be executed in all your judgments?'

"Rex. 'I will.'

"Archbishop. 'Sir, will you grant to hold, and grant to keep the laws and rightful customs which the commonalty of this your kingdom have? And will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?'

"Rex. 'I grant and promise so to do.'

"Then one of the bishops reads this admonition to the king before the people with a loud voice. 'Our lord and king, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice; and that you would protect and defend us, as every good king in his kingdom ought to be a protector and defender of the bishops, and the churches under their government.'

"The king answereth, 'With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you and the churches committed to your charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice; and that I will be your protector and defender to my power by the assistance of God, as every good king ought in his kingdom, in right to protect and defend the bishops and churches under their government.'

"The king ariseth, and is led to the communion-

haps, not so criminal in this matter, as they have been represented.

table, where he makes a solemn oath, in sight of all the people, to observe the premises, and laying his hand upon the book, saith,

'The things which I have before promised, I shall perform and keep, so help me God, and the contents of this book.'

"Such was the coronation-oath accustomably taken by the kings of England: which notwithstanding, it was objected by the lords and commons, in the time of the long parliament, not to have been the same which ought to have been taken by him. And for proof thereof, an antiquated oath was found, and published in a remonstrance of their's, bearing date the 20th of May, 1642. To which his majesty made this answer, That the oath which he took at his coronation was warranted, and enjoyned by the customs of his predecessors; and that the ceremony of their and his taking of it, they might find in the records of the exchequer[a]."—The oath which Heylin refers to, and which in the remonstrance of the lords and commons, dated 26th of May, 1642, is said, "is or ought to be taken by the kings of this realm at their coronation," here follows:

"Rot. Parlam. H. 4. n. 17.

"Forma juramenti soliti & consueti, præstari per reges Angliæ in eorum coronatione.

"Servabis ecclesiæ Dei cleroq; & populo pacem ex integro, & concordiam in Deo secundum vires tuas.

"Respondebit, Servabo.

"Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis æquam & rectam justiciam & discretionem in misericordia & veritate, secundum vires tuas?

[a] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 141—144; and Rushworth, vol. I. p. 200.

But however this be, Charles soon shewed

" Respondebit, Faciam.

" Concedis justas leges & consuetudines esse tenendas, & promittis per te eas esse protegendas & ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas ?

" Respondebit, Concedo & promitto.

" Adjicianturq; prædictis interrogationibus quæ justa fuerint, prænunciatisq; omnibus confirmet rex se omnia servaturum sacramento super altare præstito coram cunctis [a]."

This oath being printed as the antient coronation-oath by the parliament, and great stress laid upon the words in the king's oath, referring unto such laws as the people shall chuse [*quas vulgus elegerit*], his majesty replied, " We are not enough acquainted with records, to know whether that be fully and ingenuously cited, and when, and how, and why the several clauses have been inserted, or taken out of the oaths formerly administred to the kings of this realm; yet we cannot possibly imagine the assertion that declaration makes, can be deduced from the words, or the matter of that oath; for unless they [the parliament] have a power of declaring Latin, as well as law, sure *elegerit* signifieth hath chosen, as well as will chuse, and that it signifieth so here, besides the authority of the perpetual practice of all succeeding ages, (a better interpreter than their votes) is evident by the reference it hath to customs; *consuetudines quas vulgus elegerit:* and could that be a custom which the people should chuse after this oath taken? And should a king be sworn to defend such customs?"

Then follows the oath taken by Charles, as Heylin

[a] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 580.

the world that he thought himself unre-

above relates it, which undoubtedly is different from the antient one mentioned by the parliament.

This alteration of the coronation-oath is attributed to Charles by Milton, and imputed to him as a high crime. "'Aliud erat crimen regis quod ex jurejurando à regibus regnum capessentibus dari solito verba quædam ejus jussu erasa fuerint, antequam jurâsset. O facinus indignum & execrandum! impium qui fecit, quid dicam qui defendit? nam quæ potuit, per Deum immortalem, quæ perfidia, aut juris violatio esse major? quid illi sanctius post sacratissima religionis mysteria illo jurejurando esse debuit? Quis quæso sceleratior, isne qui in legem peccat, an qui secum legem ipsam ut peccare faciat dat operam? aut denique ipsam legem tollit ne peccasse videatur? Agedum, jus hoc religiosissimè jurandum rex iste violavit? sed ne palàm tamen violâsse videretur, turpissimo quodam adulterio per dolum corrupit: & ne pejerâsse diceretur, jus ipsum jurandum in perjurium vertit. Quid aliud potuit sperari, nisi injustissimè, versutissimè, atque infelicissimè regnaturum esse eum, qui ab injuria tam detestanda auspicatus regnum est; jusque illud primum adulterare auderet, quod solum impedimento sibi fore, ne jura omnia perverteret, putabat.—Hanc clausulam 'quas vulgus elegerit,' Carolus, antequam coronam acciperet, ex formula juramenti regii eradendum curavit[a]." i. e. "Another of his crimes was, the causing some words to be struck out of the usual coronation-oath, before he himself would take it. Unworthy and abominable action! The act was wicked in itself: what shall be said of him that undertakes to justify it? For by the eternal God, what greater breach of faith,

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. II. p. 361.

strained by the laws: for he paid little attention to them, and scrupled not on every oc-

and violation of all laws, can possibly be imagined? What ought to be more sacred to him, next to the holy sacraments themselves, than that oath? Which of the two do you think the most flagitious person, him that offends against the law, or him that endeavours to make the law equally guilty with himself? Or rather him who subverts the law itself, that he may not seem to offend against it! For thus, that king violated that oath which he ought most religiously to have sworn to; but that he might not seem openly and publicly to violate it, he craftily adulterated and corrupted it: and lest he himself should be accounted perjured, he turned the very oath into a perjury. What other could be expected, than that his reign would be full of injustice, craft, and misfortune, who began it with so detestable an injury to his people? and who durst pervert and adulterate that law which he thought the only obstacle that stood in his way, and hindered him from perverting all the rest of the laws.—This clause *(quas vulgus elegerit)* which the commons shall chuse, Charles, before he was crowned, procured to be rased out."—But though Charles is thus heavily charged by Milton, Laud has been chiefly blamed, in this affair, by some other writers, as will appear by what follows. "On the 2d of February, 1625, he [Charles] was crowned at Westminster: William Laud altered the old coronation-oath, and framed another[a]." And the lord chief baron Atkins, in a speech to the lord-mayor, Oct. 1693, renewed this accusation against him, in these words. "The striking out of that part of the antient oath in king Charles his time at his coronation, by archbishop

[a] Lilly, p. 21.

casion to violate them, when they thwarted his interest or inclination. To serve purposes

Laud (that the king should consent to such laws as the people should chuse), and instead of that, another very unusual one inserted, saving the king's prerogative royal[a]." And on his trial before the lords, it was objected to him, that "he compiled the form of his majestie's coronation different from that of king Edward VI. and king James; inserting some prayers and ceremonies in it out of the Roman pontifical[b]." To this Laud replies, "He [a manager of the house of commons] charged me with two alterations in the body of the king's oath. One added, namely these words (agreeable to the king's prerogative). The other omitted, namely these words *(quæ populus elegerit)*, which the people have chosen, or shall chuse. For this latter, the clause omitted, that suddenly vanished: for it was omitted in the oath of king James, as is confessed by themselves in the printed votes of this present parliament. But the other highly insisted on, as taking off the total assurance which the subjects have, by the oath of their prince, for the performance of his laws: first, I humbly conceive this clause takes off none of the people's assurance; none at all. For the king's just and legal prerogative, and the subjects assurance for liberty and property, may stand well together, and have so stood for hundreds of years. Secondly, that alteration, whatever it be, was not made by me; nor is there any interlining or alteration, so much as of a letter, found in that book. Thirdly, if any thing be amiss therein, my predecessor [Abbot] gave that oath to the king, and not I. I was meerly ministerial both

[a] See Preface to Wharton's Troubles and Tryal of Laud. [b] Prynne's Canterbury's Doome, p. 69. fol. Lond. 1646.

not the most laudable, he encouraged innovations in the doctrine of the church[38]

in the preparation, and at the coronation itself, supplying the place of the dean of Westminster[a]."

This seems pretty strong, and I fancy is true; because the only reply made in the house of Lords, by the managers for the commons, to the same defence, was, "That it appears by his own diary, that he had the chief hand in compiling this form, and that it was collected, and corrected by himself, though other bishops were joyned in consultation with him[b]."—But this reply is not to the purpose. Laud might, and it is plain from his diary that he did, collect and correct the form made use of at the coronation. But these collections and corrections seem to have been wholly of the superstitious kind. The unction in the form of a cross, the placing the crucifix on the altar, the inserting the priestly admonition, "Stand and hold fast," &c. which is in the Roman pontifical *verbatim;* these, I suppose, were the things collected and corrected by Laud, and were well worthy of his genius and disposition. However, the reader has the evidence on both sides before him, and is at liberty to form his own judgment. Much has been said on this matter by many writers, though few have gone to the bottom of it. Perhaps, after all, I may be told, it did not deserve the pains.

[38] He encouraged innovations in the doctrine of the church, &c.] What the doctrine of the church of England is, may be seen in the thirty-nine articles of religion, which all her ministers subscribe. The doctrines of original sin, predestination, the necessity of the grace of God, in order to render our good works acceptable unto him, and many other things, equally

[a] Troubles and Tryal of Laud, p. 318. [b] Canterbury's Doome, p. 476.

established, and defended the innovators from the ill effects of parliamentary cen-

orthodox and edifying, are contained therein. And as a separation was but just made from the Romish church when these articles were compiled, she is (as it was very natural) declared to have erred in matters of faith, and to have taught doctrines contrary to the truth. And that men might have a proper detestation of her, in the homilies of our church, which we are taught contain godly and wholesome doctrine, she is denied to be a true church, and her worship is declared to be idolatrous. But this notwithstanding, Richard Montague broached in his writings Arminianism, and spoke more favourably of popery than a zealous protestant could possibly have done. The house of commons, who valued the protestant religion, and really believed the doctrines contained in the articles of the church of England, were alarmed. They drew up articles against Montague, in which they declare him to have "maintained and confirmed some doctrine contrary to the articles agreed by the archbishops and bishops, and the whole clergy, in the year 1562; and by his so doing, to have broke the laws and statutes of this realm." But all the effect of this was, that the supposed criminal was protected by Charles, and honoured by him with a mitre[a]. Good encouragement this, to vilify the doctrines of a church, and applaud her adversary! In like manner Roger Manwaring having, as the commons declared, "preached two sermons contrary to the laws of this realm, in which he taught that the king was not bound to keep and observe them;" and being, on an impeachment, censured by the lords, fined, and declared to be incapable of having any ecclesiastical dignity, or secular office hereafter,

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 199, 634.

sures, and moreover took care to reward

was pardoned by his majesty, and advanced to the rank of a right reverend[a].—Robert Sibthorp, indeed, had not so good luck. He preached the same doctrine with Manwaring, and had his sermon licensed by Laud, after Abbot had refused the doing it, though required in his majesty's name; but being "a person of little learning and few parts, he only could obtain a chaplainship in ordinary to his majesty, prebendary of Peterborough, and rector of Burton Latimer in Northamptonshire."

The doctrines and promotions of these men, and others of a like stamp, produced, I am persuaded, the following excellent observations. "When such men and such doctrines prevail, it is easy to guess what will follow. No man will care to give pernicious counsel but where he knows it will be pleasing; nor will a prince hear it, unless he be inclinable to take it. He only, who has a mind to do what he ought not, will like to be told that he may; and the will of the prince is then preached up, when law and liberty are to be pulled down. What means or avails the propagating of arbitrary maxims, but to justify and introduce arbitrary proceedings? They are too odious to be spread, where no great design is to be served by doing it. Nor need any man desire a surer sign, that universal slavery is intended by the court, than when universal submission to it is inculcated upon the people. This consideration alone leaves no excuse or apology to be made for those reigns, when such slavish tenets were every where maintained, and the vile maintainers of these tenets countenanced, hired, and preferred: when from the public tribunals, and public pulpits, places sacred to law and truth, it became fashionable; nay,

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 635.

them with honours and preferments. In

became the only and surest way of rising there, to assert, that there was no law, save in the wild will of one, who, though sworn to defend law, might lawfully overturn it; to assert impious falshoods, manifest to all men; to father such falshoods upon the God of truth, under his holy name to shelter outrageous oppressions; to bind up the hands of the oppressed; to maintain that the lives of men, which they held from God, their property, which was secured to them by the constitution, the constitution itself contrived by the wisdom of men for their own preservation, and defended through ages by their virtue and bravery, were all at the meer mercy and lust of him who was solemnly bound to protect all; but might, if he so listed, destroy them all without opposition; nay, all opposition was damnable. When all this was notorious, constant, universal, the language of power, the style of favourites, and the road to favour, what doubt could remain whether it all tended? To prevent all doubts, arbitrary measures were pursued, whilst arbitrary measures were promoted. The persons of men were illegally imprisoned, illegal fines imposed, estates violently seized, and the public confidently robbed[a]."

To return.—If we may believe Andrew Marvel, Manwaring and Sibthorp were not over worthy of the countenance and encouragement they received from Charles: for, says he, "they were exceeding pragmatical, so intolerably ambitious, and so desperately proud, that scarce any gentleman might come near the tail of their mules[b]." The elevation of these gentlemen, we may be sure, was not very acceptable to the body of the nation. For nothing was more detestable

[a] Gordon's Discourses upon Tacitus, vol. V. p. 99. [b] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. II. c. 275.

his time it was that Mountague, Manwaring,

to them, at that time, than Arminianism and Popery, than lawless rule, and power uncontrolable. With regard to the new doctrines vended under the patronage of Charles, we may observe that they were not only censured by the parliament, but so disagreeable to the clergy, that Laud himself, by the advice of Andrews, would not trust their being handled in a convocation. "The truth in those opinions not being so generally entertained (says Heylin) amongst the clergy, nor the archbishop [Abbot] and the greater part of the prelates so inclinable to them, as to venture the determining of those points to a convocation[a]. But that," continues the same writer, "which was not thought fit in that present conjuncture for a convocation, his majesty was pleased to take order in by his royal edict." And therefore, on the 14th of June, 1626, by the advice of his court-bishops, he issued forth a proclamation, in which he declared "his full and constant resolution, that neither in matters of doctrine, nor discipline of the church, nor in the government of the state, he will admit of the least innovation.—His majesty thereupon commands all his subjects (the clergy most especially), both in England and Ireland, that from thenceforth they should carry themselves so wisely, warily, and conscionably, that neither by writing, preaching, printing, conferences, or otherwise, they raise any doubts, or publish or maintain any new inventions or opinions concerning religion, than such as are clearly grounded and warranted by the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, heretofore published and happily established by authority."

This proclamation seemed, in words, to favour the established doctrines of the church; but, in fact, was

[a] Life of Laud, p. 153.

and Sibthorp, those noted ecclesiastics,

made use of to undermine and destroy them. For the book of Mountague, above mentioned, having had a variety of answers, which were displeasing to Laud, who was supreme in all matters ecclesiastical, he, under colour of this order, took care to suppress them, as we may learn from the following passages.

"There appeared so many in the list against him [Mountague], viz. Goad, Featly, Ward, Wotton, Prynne, and Burton, that the encounter seemed to be between a whole army and a single person. Laud, and some of those bishops on the other side, encouraged by his majesty's proclamation, endeavoured to suppress those books, which seemed to have been published in defiance of it; some of them being called in, some stopped at the press; some printers questioned for printing, as the authors were for writing such prohibited pamphlets. Burton and Prynne, amongst the rest, were called into the high commission, and at the point to have been censured, when a prohibition comes from Westminster-hall to stay the proceedings in that court, contrary to his majesty's will and pleasure, expressed so clearly and distinctly in the said proclamation: which prohibition they tendered to the court in so rude a manner, that Laud was like to have laid them by the heels for their labour[a]." A strange sort of legerdemain this! The proclamation was against innovations; but by the slight of these prelates, countenanced by his majesty, it was turned against those who stood up in defence of the doctrine happily established by authority.

However, it must be acknowledged, that though Mountague, as a reward for his labours, had a bishoprick conferred upon him; yet his book was called in by proclamation. "But ere this proclamation was pub-

[a] Life of Laud, p. 155.

figured in controversy, and were caressed

lished, the books were for the most part vented, and out of danger of seizure[a]." And in order to crush the established doctrines yet more, a declaration was prefixed to the thirty-nine articles in his majesty's name, wherein "he wills, that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the articles aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof; and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense. And if any person shall preach or print any thing either way, other than is already established in convocation with our royal assent," says the king, "they shall be liable to our displeasure, and the church's censure in our commission ecclesiastical[b]."—The body of the clergy were uneasy at this, as well seeing what they were to expect from it; and the parliament had the same apprehensions. For soon afterwards we find the commons making the following protestation:

"We the commons in parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion which were established by parliament in the thirteenth year of our late queen Elizabeth, which by the public act of the church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others that differ from it[c]."

But notwithstanding this protestation, Arminianism, being the high road to preferment, gained ground; and the defenders of the established doctrines were treated as disturbers of the peace of the church, and impugners

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 635. [b] See the Declaration prefixed to the Articles. [c] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 649.

and favoured by him, though they were

of authority. In a speech of Sir Edward Dering, made in the house of commons Nov. 23, 1640, we find him remarking on the innovations in the doctrine of the church after the following manner: "With the papists there is a mysterious artifice, I mean their *Index expurgatorius*, whereby they clip the tongues of such witnesses whose evidence they do not like.—To this I parallel our late *Imprimaturs*, licences for the press; so handled, that truth is suppresst, and popish pamphlets fly abroad, *cum privilegio:* witness the audacious and libelling pamphlets against true religion, written by Pocklington, Heylin, Dow, Cosins, Shelford, Swan, Reeves, Yates, Hanstead, Studley, Sparrow, Brown, Roberts,—many more; I name no bishops, but I add, &c. Nay, they are already grown so bold in this new trade, that the most learned labours of our antient and best divines must be now corrected and defaced with a *deleatur*, by the supercilious pen of my lord's young chaplaine; fit perhaps for the technical arts, but unfit to hold the chair for divinity. But herein the Roman index is better than our English licensers: they thereby do preserve the current of their own established doctrine; a point of wisdome. But with us our innovators, by this artifice, doe alter our settled doctrines: nay, they doe subinduce points repugnant and contrarient[a]."

Those who would know the particulars of these matters, may easily find them in our writers of church-history. If it be asked what end the encouragement of these innovations answered in the eye of Charles? the answer is, that it galled the puritans, hateful to his majesty on account of their inviolable attachment to

[a] Collection of Speeches by Sir Edward Dering, p. 13. 4to. Lond. 1642.

most hateful to the body of the nation: and

civil liberty; it brought things nearer to the Romish church, which was what the king and Laud were desirous of (as we shall hereafter shew); and it helped to advance the mighty scheme of despotic sway, which this prince had been meditating and practising from his accession to the throne: for all the Arminians at this time were divine-right and prerogative-men.—I cannot conclude this note without observing, that this declaration of Charles, prefixed to the thirty-nine articles, has been produced and canvassed in the famous Bangorian and Trinitarian controversies, which engaged the attention of the public for a great number of years. This will best be understood by the following quotations.

"If the bishop [Potter] means to lay it down as the rule of subscription, that it must be made in the sense in which the imposers understood the words; I will tell him a few reasons why I can by no means agree to this. 1. Because, in several cases, it is impossible to be certain in what sense they themselves understood them. 2. Because there are not perhaps ten men in the church now, who subscribe, in their sense, to those articles in which their sense is most known. 3. Because I cannot condemn archbishop Laud, bishop Bull, and others, who departed manifestly from the received sense, not of one, but of several articles; nor that declaration of king James I. [Charles I.] by which he openly patronized the subscribing the same articles in several, not only different but contradictory senses: and, in effect, declared it for the honor of the articles that this should be so; and that all should acquiesce in it, without mutual reproaches[a]." To this it was replied, "It is very uncautiously and unaccurately said, that

[a] Hoadly's Postscript to his Answer to Hare, p. 259. 8vo. Lond. 1720.

all possible encouragement was given to

king Charles I. patronized the subscribing the same articles, either in contradictory or different senses. His order is, that every subscriber submit to the article in the plain and full meaning thereof, in the literal and grammatical sense. What, is the plain and full meaning more than one meaning? or is the one plain and full meaning two contradictory meanings? Could it be for the honor of the article (or of the king), to say this? No: but the royal declaration, by plain and full meaning, understands the general meaning, which is but one, and to which all might reasonably subscribe. And he forbids any one's putting his own sense, or comment, to be the meaning of the article, or to affix any new sense to it: that is, he forbids the changing a general proposition into a particular; he stands up for the general proposition, or, for the article itself; and prohibits particular meanings, as not belonging to the article; nor being properly explications of it, but additions to it. This is the plain import of the royal declaration: and it is both wise and just; free from any of those strange consequences, or inferences, which some would draw from it[a]." Dr. Sykes answered this in the following manner.—"During the reign of king James I. and king Charles I. the predestinarian controversy was on foot, and carried on with great heat and animosity. Whilst one party upbraided the other with fraudulent subscribing the articles of the church, those who stood charged with prevarication and fraud, with wiles and subtilties, still appealed to the articles, and insisted that they did not contradict them. In this contest, king Charles I. published his declaration, in which he says, 'Though some differences have been ill raised, yet we take comfort in this, that all clergy-

[a] Waterland's Case of Arian-subscription, p. 41. 8vo. Cambridge, 1721.

other men of the same stamp, whilst their

men within our realm have always most willingly subscribed to the articles established; which is an argument to us, that they all agree in the true, usual, literal meaning of the said articles; and, that, even in those curious points in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the articles of the church of England to be for them; which is an argument again, that none of them intend any desertion of the articles established.' King Charles I. thought it therefore a matter of comfort that all clergymen subscribed, notwithstanding their respective controversies, altercations, and disputes; and was so far from discountenancing, or discouraging such subscriptions, that he plainly encouraged all to subscribe, if possibly they could."——And from the other parts of the declarations above quoted, with what Dr. Waterland says is the meaning of it, he further infers, "That whatever particular meanings any clergyman may have of any general propositions in any article, he may lawfully and honestly subscribe to the general expressions; and be free from any guilt of prevarication, fraud, and breach of sincerity and trust.—King Charles enjoined, That no particular private person should presume or pretend to put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article. This injunction, as it stands, extended equally to all the thirty-nine articles; nor has any man a right to confine it to the predestinarian controversy, *i. e.* to five or six articles. If therefore any man can satisfy himself that the first or the second article, as it stands in general propositions, is true in its grammatical construction, he may subscribe it, notwithstanding he may, when he descends to particulars, widely differ from the commonly received notions[a]." This gentleman, on these

[a] Case of Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, in Answer to Waterland, p. 9, 11. 8vo. Lond. 1721.

adversaries met with a very different treat-

principles, therefore very plainly, and, I think, truly asserts, "That whatever can be said to justify an Arminian in subscribing contrary to the sense of the compilers and imposers, may be said to justify the men whom Dr. W. calls Arians, in the like case of subscription [a]." The wrath of Waterland was stirred up with this, and he set himself to shew that the articles were not Calvinistical, and consequently an Arminian might honestly subscribe them. To him Sykes rejoined, and thereby shewed the world, that no test can be so drawn, but that subtle or artful men can find ways to evade it; that they knew better how to attack each other, than defend themselves; and that the thirty-nine articles, which were agreed on for the avoiding of diversity of opinions, were yet thought capable of being subscribed by men in the most opposite sentiments, and actually were so!—I will close this note in the words of a very ingenious clergyman, on the subject of subscription to the thirty-nine articles.—"I must own," says he, "that I am not highly pleased with this method of establishing of consent touching true religion, because I am apprehensive that it is not the most proper way to avoid diversity of opinions. Are the clergy to this day, notwithstanding they have all, and all along subscribed them, better agreed? Are they of one mind yet? Have we had no dispute upon some of these very articles, which were designed to hinder all disputes?—Yes, we have, and those maintained too by some of the most learned and best of that order—and that very justly;—for true religion can never be established by consent, but by debate.—What can be the reason why the clergy should fall upon this method

[a] Case of Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, in Answer to Waterland, p. 59. 8vo. Lond. 1721.

ment. These innovations in doctrine were attended with a great variety of superstiof articling with their noviciates? Should fetters be clapt upon the mind? or should it be free to pursue its own conclusions? Are religion and truth two different things, that if truth should come out, religion must fail? And how shall truth appear, but by disquisition, parley, and dispute? What matter to them on which side she is found?—be she but found.—Are not all mankind as much concerned in her as they? Why then these hedges and inclosures, where every man has right of common? Such practices not only hinder the propagation of truth, but are the causes of vile prevarications and hypocrisy.—Men that come into the church, unless their sentiments are conformable to those of the articles, which, by the writings of the clergy, and the turn of the age, seem to be very few in number, must be guilty of such dishonesty, as a man of probity would blush to mention.—Are all the men of sense and learning, among the clergy, Athanasians? and who but such can honestly put their hands to the first, second, fifth, and eighth articles?—Or, are the clergy now-a-days of Calvinistical principles, according to the meaning of the seventeenth article? Yet they own these as truths.—What can the laity think, but that these persons (who, with so much ease and quietness, solemnly profess propositions true, which they are convinced are false, meerly for the sake of the preferment of the church) would, for the sake of greater gains, subscribe to any other thirty-nine propositions you can bring them[a]?" This is honestly and boldly spoken! A time, one would hope, must come, in which truth will be heard and regarded by those who are in

[a] Dissuasive from entering into Holy Orders, in the Cordial for Low Spirits, vol. III. p. 319, 323. See some excellent Remarks on this Subject in Hartley's Observations on Man, vol. II. p. 351, 554.

tious[39] practices; such as bowings to the altar, consecrations of churches, and the

authority. Quickly may it come! that the minds of good and virtuous men may no longer be made uneasy under the galling yoke of subscription to articles, drawn up by men who comparatively understood little of the doctrinal parts of religion, and were quite unacquainted with the rights of conscience.

[39] A great variety of superstitious practices, &c.] Charles, I have before observed, was naturally superstitious, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that new superstitions were introduced and cherished by him. For when once men leave the road of common sense, and think themselves capable of adding to the directions given by Jesus Christ, with relation to the worship and service of Almighty God, they know not where to stop: one thing is comely in their eyes, another significant, another edifying; till at length religion becomes a mere hotch-potch of trumperies, fooleries, shews, and every thing but what it should be. In the reign of Charles a multitude of odd things were introduced into the church, and a variety of practices, for which no good reason could be given. "A rich large crucifix, embroidered with gold and silver, in a fair peece of arras, was hung up in his majestie's chappel, over the altar[a];" to which the chaplains were ordered to make their best bows, Laud himself setting the example "at his ingresse, egresse, (a lane being made for him to see the altar, and do his reverence to it) and at all his approaches towards or to the altar." Pictures were set up in churches, consecrations were made use of after the Romish manner, though without sense or meaning; the communion-table was turned altar-wise in churches and colleges;

[a] Canterbury's Doome, p. 67.

ornamenting them with pictures, after the

and a great stress was laid on the garments wherein the public teachers officiated.—" In the year 1634, being the first year after bishop Laud's translation from London to Canterbury, great offence was taken at his setting up of pictures in the church-windows at his chappel at Lambeth and Croyden, the portraiture of them being made according to the Roman missal, and bowing towards the table or altar, using of copes at the sacrament, whereupon the people made a great clamour, that the archbishop endeavoured to subvert God's true religion, by law established in this realm, and, instead thereof, to set up popish superstition and idolatry[a]." Laud made but a very lame defence—he acknowledged the facts; but insisted on it, that what he had done, had been done before him; that he had followed the pattern of bishop Andrews; and that he knew not that the pictures he had set up were the same with those in the Romish missal. The latter part of this plea was undoubtedly false: for the missal, with which they agreed, was found in his study at Lambeth, and produced before the lords, marked in a variety of places with his own hand. And as to his other pleas, he was told, " that bowing to or towards the altar, was never prescribed by our statutes, articles, homilies, common-prayer-book, injunctions, canons, never practised by any till of late, but some few popish court-doctors, and cathedralists; never used by his predecessor or his chaplains; introduced only by papists at the first, in honor and adoration of their breaden god upon the altar; and enjoined only by the Roman missal, ceremonial, and popish canonists[b]."—This bowing towards the altar, I think, is yet practised by our cathedralists. I remember a man of letters was used to tell his acquaintance, that he sometimes

[a] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 273. [b] Id. p. 280.

manner of the catholics, together with

dropped into St. Paul's, to have the pleasure of seeing Dr. Hare [dean of that church] make his bow to the altar.—But to go on.—In the year 1640, we find some of these trifles enjoined by a canon of the then convocation. "The synod declares, that the standing of the communion-table sideways, under the east window of the chancel or chappel, is in its own nature indifferent; but forasmuch as queen Elizabeth's injunctions order it to be placed where the altar was, we therefore judge it proper, that all churches and chappels do conform themselves to the cathedral or mother-churches. And we declare this situation of the holy table does not imply that it is, or ought to be, esteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Christ is again sacrificed; but it may be called an altar in the sense of the primitive church: and because it has been observed, that some people in time of divine service have irreverently leaned, cast their hats, or set upon or under the communion-table, therefore the synod thinks meet, that the table be railed round. It is further recommended to all good people, that they do reverence at their entering in and going out of the church; and that all communicants do approach the holy table, to receive the communion at the rails, which has heretofore been unfitly carried up and down by the minister, unless the bishop shall dispense with it[a]."

And the stress which was laid on these matters will appear from the following narrative of Sir Edward Dering, in a committee of the house of commons, Nov. 23, 1640.—"Mr. Wilkinson," says he, "a batchelor in divinity, and a man in whose character doe concur learning, piety, industry, modesty, —presented himself to receive orders; and that was thus. The bishop

[a] Nalson, p. 515; *apud* Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. II. p. 350. 8vo. Lond. 1733.

many other things of a like nature. In short, the church of England assumed a

of Oxford's chaplaine [M. Fulham], being the examiner (for bishops now doe scorne to doe bishops work: it belongs to himselfe), he propoundeth four questions to M. Wilkinson, not taken out of the depth of divinity, but fitly chosen to discover how affections doe stand to be novelized by the mutability of the present times.

" The questions were these:

1. " Whether hath the church authority in matters of faith?

2. " May the king's book of sports, (so some impious bishops have abused our pious king, to call their contrivance his majestie's booke) may this be read in the church without offence?

3. " Is bowing to or before the altar lawful?

4. " Is bowing at the name of Jesus lawful?

" As soon as M. Wilkinson heard these questions, *lupum auribus*, he had a wolfe by the ears; and because unto these captious interrogatories he could not make a peremptory answer, M. Fulham would not present him to the bishop for ordination[a]." These were rare questions to be proposed on such an occasion! and the man, who could not answer them in the affirmative, must be very unworthy of the episcopal approbation!

" In defence of superstition, it is usually asked by ignorant devotees,—what harm is there in it?—If we have a mind to turn towards the east, why may we not turn that way as well as any other? That God is equally in all places, is a fundamental maxim; and which way ever we happen to face in our addresses to him, it is a thing in its own nature perfectly indifferent: but then we should consider it only as such, act accordingly, and not make a formal stated ceremony

[a] Dering's Collection of Speeches, p. 43.

new dress under this prince[40], and seemed in the eyes of many too much to re-

of it; for he must be but a sorry casuist who does not know, that things by nature indifferent, may by law be made otherwise: and as the constitution of our church has left no ceremony indifferent, but all are either commanded or forbidden; and this turning towards the east is no where ordered, whenever we make a ceremony of it (pardon me the expression), it is a turn too much.—But some one perhaps will say, —what would I have men do, for instance, when they say their Creed? Would I have them turn no way, but stand just as they did before? My answer is, why not? What occasion for all this shuffling backwards and forwards, when the time is come for us to say what religion we are of? If we desire to let the world know that we are Christians, why do we not declare it in the face of the world? As to the making the declaration before God, he is every where; why then should we turn, to be never the nearer? For once to assume myself the air of a profound rationalist;—when we profess our faith, what more proper than to stand our ground[a]?" This is very just. All I shall add is, that we ought to be on our guard against superstition, which, once admitted, knows no bounds, and never fails to obscure the glory, and sully the beauty of true religion.

[40] The church of England assumed a new dress under this prince.] Here are my authorities. "The clergy, whose dependence was merely upon the king, were wholly taken up in admiration of his [Charles] happy government, which they never concealed from himself, as often as the pulpit gave them accesse to his ear; and not only there but at all meetings, they

[a] Asplin's Alkibla, part II. p. 124. 8vo. Lond. 1730.

semble the Romish one. Besides this,

discoursed with joy upon that theam; affirming confidently, that no prince in Europe was so great a friend to the church as king Charles; that religion flourished no where but in England; and no reformed church retained the face and dignity of a church but that. Many of them used to deliver their opinion, that God had therefore so severely punished the Palatinate, because their sacriledge had been so great in taking away the endowments of bishopricks. Queen Elizabeth herself, who had reformed religion, was but coldly praised, and all her virtues forgotten, when they remembered how she cut short the bishoprick of Ely. Henry VIII. was much condemned by them, for seizing upon the abbies, and taking so much out of the several bishopricks, as he did in the 37th year of his reigne. To maintaine therefore that splendour of a church, which so much pleased them, was become their highest endeavour; especially after they had gotten, in the year 1633, an archbishop after their own heart, Dr. Laud; who had before, for divers years, ruled the clergy in the secession of archbishop Abbot, a man of better temper and discretion; which discretion or virtue to conceale, would be an injury to that archbishop: he was a man who wholly followed the true interest of England, and that of the reformed churches in Europe, so farre, as that in his time the clergy was not much envied here in England, nor the government of episcopacy much disfavoured by protestants beyond the seas. Not only the pompe of ceremonies was daily increased, and innovations of great scandal brought into the church; but in point of doctrine, many faire approaches made towards Rome; as he that pleaseth to search may find in the books of bishop Laud, Mountague, Heylin, Pocklington and the rest; or in brief collected by a Scotish minister,

professed papists were favoured and

master Bayly. And as their friendship to Rome increased, so did their scorne to the reformed churches beyond the seas; whom, instead of lending that reliefe and succour to them, which God had enabled this rich island to do, they failed in their greatest extremities, and instead of harbours, became rocks to split them[a]." I have the rather quoted this at length, in order that I may give the reader a taste of Mr. May's manner of writing. Take him upon the whole, he will appear elegant, exact, and impartial, and deserving to be much better known than he is.—But to proceed. Mountague, before mentioned, maintained that "the controverted points [between the Roman catholics and the protestants] are of a lesser and inferiour nature, of which a man may be ignorant, without any danger of his soul at all." He moreover affirmed and maintained, "that saints have not only a memory, but a more peculiar charge of their friends; and that it may be admitted, that some saints have a peculiar patronage, custody, protection, and power, as angels also have, over certain persons and countries, by special deputation; and that it is no impiety so to believe[b]." The same Mountague in print averred, "That all priests, and none but priests, have power to forgive sins.——Such absolution," said he, "is a part of that priestly power which could not be given by men or angels, but only and immediately by Almighty God himself; a part of that paramount power which the God of glory hath invested mortal men withal[c]." This was at length become so current a doctrine, that it was maintained in the pulpit as well as from the press. For one Mr. Adams, preaching publicly in St. Mary's

[a] May's History of the Parliament, p. 22. [b] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 210. [c] Prynne's Canterbury's Doome, p. 189.

caressed by the court, advanced there-

church in Cambridge, declared, "That a special confession unto a priest (actually where time and opportunity presents itself, or otherwise in explicit intention and resolution) of all our sins committed after baptism, so farre forth as we doe remember, is necessary unto salvation."——Yea, he moreover averred, "That it was as necessary to salvation as meat is to the body [a]." It was also become very fashionable, at this time, to talk of the real presence of Christ on the altar, and the unbloody sacrifice offered thereon [b]. What these men meant is not very easy to know, though some of these doctrines are still pretended to be held by many in this age. I say, pretended; for it is hardly possible to think that men of sense and learning can themselves believe what, for very good and profitable purposes, they seem to endeavour to palm on their ignorant credulous followers.——It would be quite tedious to enumerate the particulars of the approaches which were made towards popery in this reign. Suffice it to say, that standers by, as well as persons concerned, saw and acknowledged them. Let us hear a foreign nobleman, who wrote on the spot. "As to a reconciliation between the churches of England and Rome, there were made some general propositions and overtures by the archbishop's agents, they assuring that his grace was very much disposed thereunto; and that, if it was not accomplished in his life-time, it would prove a work of more difficulty after his death; that in very truth, for the last three years, the archbishop had introduced some innovations, approaching the rites and forms of Rome. The bishop of Chichester, a great confident of his grace, and the lord-treasurer, and eight other bishops of his grace's partie, did most

[a] Prynne's Canterbury's Doome, p. 192. [b] Id. p. 202.

in to employments of great trust and

passionately desire a reconciliation with the church of Rome; that therefore the pope, on his part, ought to make some steps to meet them, and the court of Rome remit something of its rigour in doctrine, otherwise no accord could be. And in very deed, the universities, bishops, and divines of this realm, doe daily embrace catholike opinions, though they professe not so much with open mouth, for fear of the puritans. For example, they hold that the church of Rome is a true church; that the pope is superior to all bishops; that to him it appertains to call general councils; that it is lawful to pray for the soul of the departed; that altars ought to be erected of stone. In summe, that they believe all that is taught by the church, but not by the court of Rome. There was likewise an English doctor that told Panzanie's [the pope's nuntio] friend, that the king did approve of auricular confession, and was willing to introduce it; and would use force to make it received, were it not for fear of sedition among the people[a]."

The following passage from Heylin, will fully shew the appearance the church of England made in those times. "If you will take her character," says he, "from the pen of a jesuit, you shall find him speaking, amongst many falsehoods, these undoubted truths, viz. That the professors of it, they especially of the greatest worth, learning, and authority, love temper and moderation; that the doctrines are altered in many things; as, for example, the pope not Anti-christ, pictures, free-will, predestination, universal grace, inherent righteousness, the preferring of charity before knowledge, the merit (or reward rather) of good works; the thirty-nine articles seeming patient, if not ambitious

[a] The Popes Nuntios, p. 10. 4to. Lond. 1643.

profit[41], and not a few converts were made

also, of some catholic sense; that their churches begin to look with a new face, their walls to speak a new language, and some of their divines to teach, that the church hath authority in determining controversies of faith, and interpreting the scriptures; that men in talk and writing, use willingly the once fearful names of priests and altars, and are now put in mind, that, for exposition of scripture, they are by canon bound to follow the fathers. So far the jesuit may be thought to speak nothing but truth[a]." How far this new face and new language was acceptable to the nation, will hereafter at large appear. In the meanwhile I shall only remark, that it seems not over honourable to resemble a harlot, as the church of Rome is styled in the Homilies.

[41] Professed papists were advanced to employments of great trust and profit, &c.] Great complaints were made in parliament of the growth of popery, and the favour which was shewn to the professors of it. In the first year of this reign a petition was delivered to his majesty on this subject, and "he was desired to order the laws to be put in execution against recusants, and to remove from places of authority and government all popish recusants, which he promised to do[b]." But yet, notwithstanding this promise, we find several "letters of grace, protection, and warrants of discharge, granted by his majesty to notorious popish recusants, priests and jesuits, to exempt them from all prosecutions and penal laws against them, signed with the king's own hand[c]." Had this been all, setting aside the breach of his word, the king, I think, would not have been much to blame; it seeming not so very

[a] Life of Laud, p. 252. [b] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 18. [c] Prynne's Popish Royal Favourite, p. 1. 4to. Lond. 1643.

to the impious and ill-natured tenets of the

equitable to punish men, merely for not worshipping the eternal and all-seeing Mind in a way and manner their consciences approve not of. But Charles went much farther than this. Windebank, a notorious Roman catholic, by the procurement of Laud[a], was made secretary of state; Weston, lord-treasurer, was universally believed by the protestants to be of the same profession[b]; Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, had been reconciled in Spain to the Romish church (though he joined in all parts of worship according to the church of England), and died in her communion, in the same country[c]. Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Toby Matthews, Walter Mountague, were all in high favour at court, though they made no scruple of owning their principles, and openly attempting to make converts. Nor must we omit to mention, in this place, that Charles admitted Gregorio Panzani, an Italian, and George Con, a Scot, and afterwards count Rosetti, to reside about the court, as agents or nuncios from the see of Rome. The first was sent over in the latter end of the year 1635, by pope Urban VIII. on no other pretence, says Heylin, "than to prevent a schism which was then like to be made between the regulars and the secular priests, to the great scandal of that church; yet under that pretence were muffled many other designs, which were not fit to be discovered unto vulgar eyes. By many secret artifices he works himself into the favour of Cottington, Windebank, and other great men about the court. And he found some way to move the king for the permission of an agent

[a] Laud's Diary, by Wharton, p. 47. [b] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 50. See also Stafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p. 381. where Mr. Garrard, relating the circumstances of his death, says, it is whispered and believed that he died a Roman catholick, and had all the ceremonies of that church performed to him at his death. [c] Id. vol. VI. p. 380.

see of Rome. These things gave very great

from the pope to be addressed to the queen, for the concernments of her religion; which the king, with the advice and consent of his council, condescended to, upon condition that the party sent should be no priest[a]." The nobleman, whom I have already quoted, tells us, "that Panzani, when he arrived at London, saluted the queen, and afterwards the king also, who received and treated him with much kindness, telling him, that he was very welcome: yea, his majesty remained uncovered during all the discourse and entertainment[b]." "Panzani, having laid the foundation of an agency, or constant correspondence between the queen's court and the pope's, left the pursuit of the design to Con, a Scot by birth, but of a very busy and pragmatical head. Arriving in England about the middle of summer, Anno 1636, he brought with him many pretended reliques of saints, medals, and pieces of gold with the pope's picture stamped on them, to be distributed amongst those of that party, but principally amongst the ladies of the court and country, to whom he made the greatest part of his applications. He found the king and queen at Holdenby-house, and by the queen was very graciously entertained, and took up his chief lodgings in a house near the New Exchange. As soon as the court was returned to Whitehall, he applied himself diligently to his work, practising upon some of the principal lords, and making himself very plausible with the king himself, who hoped he might make some use of him in the court of Rome, for facilitating the restitution of the prince elector.—By the king's connivance, and the queen's indulgence, the popish faction gathered not only strength, but confidence; multiplying in some numbers about the court,

[a] Life of Laud, p. 305. [b] The Popes Nuntios, p. 7.

offence to many, and induced them to be-

and resorting in more open manner to the masses at Somerset house, where the Capuchins had obtained both a chappel and convent[a]." The abbot Chambres, who was dispatched into Scotland by the cardinal duke de Richlieu, to foment the commotions there in the year 1639, was nephew to this Con, who had received so "many favours and civilities from the king and queen of Great Britain[b]." Such are the returns to be expected from men animated by a blind zeal for superstition! Such the rewards to be hoped for from favouring our avowed foes!—The authority of Heylin, in this matter, will hardly be questioned by those who are acquainted with his principles. But that I may put the encouragement and growth of popery under Charles out of all manner of doubt, I will add proofs little known of it, though they are most authentic.

Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the lord-deputy Wentworth, dated London, 23 March, 1636, has the following passage. "Dr. Haywood, late household-chaplain to my lord's grace of Canterbury, now the king's, parson of St. Giles's in the Fields, where he lives, brought a petition to my lord's grace, and the other lords of his majestie's council, complaining, that in a very short time a great part of his parishioners are become papists, and refuse to come to church. The wolf that has been amongst them is a jesuit, one Morse, who since this complaint is, they say, by order apprehended and committed to prison. Popery certainly encreaseth much amongst us, and will do so still, as long as there is such access of all sorts of English to the chaple in Somerset-house, utterly forbidden and punishable by the laws of the land. I wish, and pray to God with all

[a] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 358.

[b] D'Estrade's Letters, p. 8; Sidney's State Papers, vol. II. p. 699.

lieve, that Charles himself, in heart, was a

my heart, that the bishops of England would take this growth of popery into their considerations, and seek by all means to retard that, as well as punish by suspension and other ways those called puritan ministers[a]." The same gentleman, in a letter to the same nobleman, dated Lond. Ap. 28, 1637, writes thus: "Wat Mountague is come again into England, lodged in the Cockpit by the lord-chamberlain's favour, hath kissed the king and queen's hands, lives much in court, and is a great companion of signor Con's, the agent for Rome. Another of my familiar acquaintance is gone over to the popish religion, Sir Robert Howard, which I am very sorry for.—Monday in Easter-week, my lord Andover, Berkshire's eldest son, was married by a popish priest to Mrs. Doll Savage[b]."

This Wat, or Walter Mountague, was younger brother to Edward earl of Manchester, better known by the title of lord Kimbolton. He had changed his religion abroad, was made lord-abbot of Pontois, and became an adherent to Mazarine, and a favourite of Ann of Austria. He died in the year 1669[c].—But to proceed. Mr. Garrard, in a letter of Nov. 9th, 1637, tells the said lord, "That there hath been an horrible noise about the lady Newport's being become a Roman catholic: she went one evening, as she came from a play in Drury-lane, to Somerset-house, where one of the Capuchins reconciled her to the popish church, of which she is now a weak member[d]." And in another letter of his, dated London, May 12th, 1638, we have the following narration.—"The conde de Oniate, the Spanish ambassador, accompanied with an Irish gentleman of the order of Calatrava, in the holy week, came to Denmark-house, to do his devotions in the

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 57. [b] Id. p. 73. [c] Wood's Fasti, c. 162. [d] Strafforde, vol. II. p. 128.

papist, and that he intended to introduce queen's chapple there: he went off thence about ten o'clock, a dozen torches carried before him by his servants, and some behind him: he and the Irish gentleman were in the front, with their beads in their hands, which hung at a cross: some English also were among them; so that with their own company, and many who followed after, they appeared a great troop. They walk from Denmark-house down the Strand in great formality, turn into Covent-garden, thence to seignior Con's house in Long-acre, so to his own house in Queen-street. The next day the report went, that the Spanish ambassador had gone in procession openly through the streets; but it was no other thing than what I have related to your lordship: yet the king took it ill at his hands, and expostulated it with him, and gave order for questioning those English who were in his company. 'Tis true, notwithstanding all the care and vigilancy of the king, and prelates, taken for the suppressing of popery, yet it much increaseth about London, and these pompous shews of the sepulchre contribute much to it; for they grow common: they are not only set up now in the queen's chapel, for which there is some reason, but also in the ambassador's houses, in Con's lodgings, nay, at York-house, and in my lord Worcester's house, if they be not liars who tell it. Our great women fall away every day. My lady Maltravers is a declared papist; and also my lady Katherine Howard.—The lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Balfour, beat a priest lately, for seeking to convert his wife: he had a suspicion that she resorted a little too much to Denmark-house, and staid long abroad, which made him one day send after her. Word being brought him where she was, he goes thither, finds her at her devotions in the chapel; he beckons her out, she comes accompanied with a priest, who somewhat too saucily reprehended the lieutenant for

popery into his kingdoms: but it is proba-

disturbing the lady in her devotions; for which he struck him two or three sound blows with his battoon, and the next day came and told the king the whole passage, so it passed over[a]."——Lord Clarendon's account of the state of popery in this reign, before the civil broils began, will properly conclude this note.— "The papists," says he, "had for many years enjoyed a very great calm, being upon the matter absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dispensed with for the gentlest; and were grown only a part of the revenue, without any probable danger of being made a sacrifice to the law. They were looked upon as good subjects at court, and as good neighbours in the country; all the restraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten. But they were not prudent managers of this prosperity, being too elate and transported with the protection and connivance they received: though I am persuaded their numbers increased not, their pomp and boldness did to that degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the state, they appeared more publicly, entertained and urged conferences more avowedly, than had been before known: they resorted at common hours to mass to Somerset-house, and returned thence in great multitudes, with the same barefacedness as others came from the Savoy, or other neighbour churches. They attempted and sometimes obtained proselytes of weak uninformed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage, and destroyed the charity of great and powerful families, which longed for their suppression: they grew not only secret contrivers, but public professed promoters of, and ministers in, the most odious, and the most grievous projects: as in that of soap, formed, framed, and executed, by almost a corporation of that religion; which, under that licence and notion, might

[a] Strafforde, vol. II. p. 165.

ble they were mistaken in their conjectures[42],

be, and were suspected to be, qualified for other agitations. The priests, and such as were in orders (orders that in themselves were punishable with death), were departed from their former modesty and fear, and were as willing to be known as to be hearkened to; insomuch as a jesuit at Paris, who was coming for England, had the boldness to visit the embassador there, who knew him to be such, and, offering his service, acquainted him with his journey, as if there had been no laws there for his reception. And for the most invidious protection and countenance of that whole party, a public agent from Rome (first Mr. Con, a Scotishman, and after him the count of Rosetti, an Italian) resided at London in great port; publickly visited the court, and was avowedly resorted to by the catholicks of all conditions, over whom he assumed a particular jurisdiction; and was caressed and presented magnificently by the ladies of honour who inclined to that profession. They had likewise, with more noise and vanity than prudence would have admitted, made publick collections of money to a considerable sum, upon some recommendations from the queen, and to be by her majesty presented as a free-will offering from his Roman catholick subjects to the king, for the carrying on the war against the Scots; which drew upon them the rage of that nation, with little devotion and reverence to the queen herself; as if she desired to suppress the protestant religion in one kingdom as well as the other, by the arms of the Roman catholicks. To conclude, they carried themselves so, as if they had been suborned by the Scots to root out their own religion[a]." This description, as an ingenious writer observes, would almost have suited the reign of king James II[b].

[42] Many believed Charles himself was a papist,——

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 148. [b] Enquiry into the Share which K. Charles I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, p. 293. 8vo. Lond. 1747.

But though there might not have been

but they were mistaken, &c.] "I hear," says Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the lord-deputy Wentworth, dated London, Dec. 16, 1637, "of certain papers scattered lately in Somerset-house, directed to the lords of his majestie's council, wherein it is said, that half his majestie's council are of the Romish religion, already; and that lying scribler, whoever he was, persuades the rest to comply that way, otherwise they would have scorns and disgraces put upon them by his majesty; for all would run that way within one half. A bold and high impudence! I pray God he may be found, that he may receive condign punishment[a]." But this scribbler was not singular in the thought that popery was intended to be established here, as appears from the two following passages in Laud's Diary. 1633, Aug. 2. "That very morning at Greenwich, there came one to me, seriously, and that avowed ability to perform it, and offered me to be a cardinal: I went presently to the king, and acquainted him both with the thing and the person. Aug. 17, Saturday, I had a serious offer made to me again to be a cardinal: I was then from court; but so soon as I came thither (which was Wednesday, Aug. 21), I acquainted his majesty with it. But my answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is[b]." Appearances certainly must have been greatly in favour of Romanism, when the head of the church of England was thought not indisposed to commence a member of the sacred college. We are not therefore to wonder, that Mr. Prynne imagined "Laud's end was, that popery might creep in among us by degrees, without the least opposition or impeachment[c]." How-

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 142. [b] Laud's Diary, by Wharton, p. 49. [c] Canterbury's Doom, p. 184.

any intention to submit to Rome, yet it is

ever, it does not appear that Charles or the archbishop had any such intentions.

"He [Charles] was ill thought of by many, especially the puritans, then so called (says Lilly), for suffering the chapple at Somerset-house to be built for the queen, where mass was publickly said: yet he was no papist, or favoured any of their tenets, nor do I remember any such thing was ever objected against him.—Many also have blamed him for writing unto the pope when he was in Spain; others think ill of him for the many reprieves he gave unto seminary priests, and Mr. Pryn sweats to no purpose in aggravating his offence thereby. Why might he not as well, in a civil way, write unto the pope, as write and send his ambassador to the great Turk, I know not; and for his mercy to those priests, who had not occasioned rebellion in his dominions, truly charity bids me to make rather a good than ill construction. And were not the common law of this nation more in force than the canon of scripture, those things could not be justified, putting men to death for religion, or taking orders beyond sea[a]." And archbishop Usher left a memorandum, in his own hand-writing, in the following words: "The king once at Whitehall, in the presence of George duke of Buckingham, of his own accord, said to me, that he never loved popery in all his life; but that he never detested it before his going into Spain[b]." Dr. Ryves also, in a postscript to a letter to the said archbishop, dated Oct. 8, 1623, writes: "No one doubts but that the prince went a good protestant out of England; but it is as certain, thanks be given to God for it, that he is returned out of Spain tenfold more confirmed in our's, more obdurate against their religion than ever he was

[a] Lilly, p. 16. [b] Usher's Life, by Parr, p. 39.

well known that Charles aimed at a thing most prejudicial to truth, honesty, and the

before[a]." I will add but a proof or two more. "His daughter, the lady Elizabeth, being admitted to see him the day before his execution, he bid her read bishop Andrews's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and bishop Laud's book against Fisher, which would ground her against popery[b]." And in his speech on the scaffold he has the following passage.—"My conscience in religion, I think, is very well known to all the world; and therefore I declare before you all, that I die a Christian, according to the profession of the church of England, as I found it left me by my father: and this honest man [Dr. Juxon], I think, will witness it[c]." Is not this very strong, considered as coming from the mouth of a dying man? Need we more proofs that Charles was not a papist himself? or shall we yet suspect that the introduction of popery was what he had in his view? Forbid it, charity! forbid it, candor!

It is very remarkable, that Sir Edward Dering and Mr. May acquit Laud also of any such purpose. "His [Laud's] book, lately set forth (especially for the latter half thereof), hath muzzled the jesuit, and shall strike the papist under the fifth rib, when he is dead and gone[d]."—"The archbishop of Canterbury was much against the court of Rome, though not against the church, in so high a kinde: for the doctrine of the Roman church was no enemy to the pompe of prelacy; but the doctrine of the court of Rome would have swallowed up all under the pope's supreamacy, and have made all greatness dependant upon him: which the archbishop conceived would derogate too much

[a] Usher's Life, by Parr, p. 302. [b] King Charles's Works, p. 206.
[c] Id. p. 209. [d] Dering's Speeches, p. 5.

public welfare, even uniformity in modes and forms [43].

from the king in temporals (and therefore hardly to be accepted by the court), as it would from himself in spirituals, and make his metropolitical power subordinate, which he desired to hold absolute and independent within the realme of England [a]." In short, whoever considers that Laud was the instrument of reclaiming Chillingworth from popery, that he was his patron, and the encourager of his writing that immortal book The Religion of Protestants; I say, whoever considers but this, will go near to acquit him from popery, and the design to establish it [b].—I shall conclude this note with observing, that if any stress was to be laid on a little book entitled, "*Certamen Religiosum:* or a conference between K. Charles I. and Henry late marquis of Worcester, concerning religion in Ragland Castle, printed at London 1649, in 12mo," this monarch must be looked on as a good protestant: for he therein shews zeal for the reformation, and a detestation of the church of Rome. But the authority of this book was not admitted by Charles's friends [c]; and neither the diction or sentiments seem well to agree with his genuine undoubted writings, and consequently nothing is to be concluded from thence in his favour. The publisher of this piece was Thomas Baylie, D. D. subdean of Wells, who afterwards turned to the Romish communion, and was very bitter against all who followed not his example.

[43] Charles aimed at a thing most prejudicial—uniformity in modes and forms.] Heylin shall be my authority for the fact.

[a] May's Parliamentary History, p. 25.

[b] See Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth, p. 9—13. 8vo. Lond. 1725.

[c] See Wood's Athenæ, vol. I. p. 568.

This was pressed every where, both on

"Laud had not sate long in the chaire of Canterbury, when he procured an order from the lords of the council, bearing date Oct. 1, 1633, by which their English churches and regiments in Holland (and afterwards by degrees in all other foreign parts and plantations) were required strictly to observe the English liturgy, with all the rites and ceremonies prescribed in it.—And now at last, says he, we have the face of an English church in Holland, responsal to the bishops of London for the time being, as a part of their diocess, directly and immediately subject to their jurisdiction. The like course also was prescribed for our factories in Hamborough, and those further off, that is to say, in Turkey, in the Mogul's dominions, the Indian islands, the plantations in Virginia, Barbadoes, and all other places where the English had any standing residence in the way of trade. The like done also for regulating the divine service in the families of all embassadors residing in the courts of foreign princes for his majestie's service; as also in the English regiments serving under the States.—The English agents and embassadors in the courts of foreign princes, had not been formerly so regardful of the honour of the church of England as they might have been, in designing a set room for religious uses, and keeping up the vestments, rites, and ceremonies prescribed by law in performance of them. It was now hoped, that there would be a church of England in all courts of Christendom, in the chief cities of the Turk, and other great Mahometan princes, in all our factories and plantations in every known part of the world, by which it might be rendered as diffuse and catholick as the church of Rome[a]." An admirable design this,

[a] Life of Laud, p. 276.

natives and foreigners, and no liberty was

truly, and well worthy the politics and piety of this reign! I suppose our modern propagators of the gospel have the like hopeful project in view. These men pretend to go abroad to convert Indians and Negroes to the worship of the true God, and to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and raise large contributions on the ignorant well-disposed, for this end, as they say: when, in fact, the Indians are now totally neglected[a], the Negroes little minded, and the whole end of the mission is to obtain a handsome maintenance, (which in these kingdoms, for certain reasons, cannot be got) by converting better Christians than themselves to what is called the church of England, that is, to its modes and forms; for as to its faith, so far as it is Christian, they are already possessed of it. The reader, I hope, will pardon this digression, which indignation, at such an imposition on the public, has drawn from me. But to go on with the history. Laud, having thus begun, determined to proceed and reduce all the inhabitants of the land to a thorough conformity. He therefore attacked the Walloon and Dutch churches, founded by letters patent from Edward VI. "He looked on their churches as nests and occasions of schism; and thought it better there were no foreign churches or strangers in England, than have them thereby give occasion of prejudice or danger to the church-government of it; and therefore insisted, that all the natives of these churches should repair to the several parish-churches where they inhabited, to hear divine service and sermons, and perform all duties and payments required in that behalf[b]." Upon this they petitioned for the enjoyment of their accustomed

[a] See Humphry's Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, p. 306—311. 8vo. Lond. 1730. [b] Id. p. 278.

to be obtained, though it was most earnestly

liberty, and made use of powerful intercessors; but all was ineffectual. Nothing but conformity would satisfy, though thereby the greatest mischief was done. "For by these injunctions," says Rushworth, "the foreign churches were molested and disquieted several years together, for refusing conformity; and some of their ministers, and others of their congregations, deserted the kingdom, and went beyond seas[a]." Thus were the inhabitants driven out of the kingdom, manufactures sent abroad, and wealth diminished, merely for the sake of causing men to attend the parish-churches, and make payments thereunto!

Nor did the ministers of the English church, who were inconformable, come much better off. Some, who refused reading the declaration about lawful sports, were suspended, and others sequestered; and nothing was to be heard of but injunctions about placing the communion-table altar-wise, adorations towards it, officiating in copes, standing up at the creed and gospel, and doxologies, and bowing at the name of Jesus[b]. "These by degrees," says Heylin, "drew on such reformation in cathedral churches, that they recovered once again their antient splendor, and served for an example to the parish churches which related to them[c]." In short, according to the same author, things were so far advanced in the year 1637, "that little or no noise was raised about the publishing the book of sports, or silencing the Calvinian doctrines, according to his majestie's declaration before the articles: no clamour touching the transposing of the holy table, which went on leizurely in most places, vigorously in many, and in some stood still. The

[a] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 273. [b] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 292.
[c] Id. p. 293.

requested. The ill consequences of this metropolitical visitation, and the care of the bishops, had settled these particulars in so good a way, that men's passions began to calm, and their thoughts to come to some repose, when the commands had been more seriously considered of, than at first they were[a]."

And in order to establish the hierarchy in its then form, and prevent all attempts for an alteration, in the convocation held in the year 1640, the following, among other canons, was enacted. Canon VI. "The synod decrees, that all archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, shall, before the 2d of November next, take the following oath; which shall be tendered by the bishop in person, or some grave divine deputed by him, and shall be taken in presence of a public notary.

'THE OATH.

'I A.B. do swear that I do approve the doctrine, discipline, or government established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any popish doctrine, contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of Rome.'

"This oath was appointed to be taken by all that were incorporated in either of the universities, or take any degree, whether lawyers, divines, or physicians; all governors of halls or colledges in the universities; all schoolmasters, and all that enter into holy orders,

[a] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 356.

to the kingdom were many; but they were

or have licence to preach."——This was the famous *et cætera* oath, the subject of ridicule, contempt, and censure.

Laud, not content with what was done in England, determined to bring Scotland and Ireland to join in the same profession of faith, and in the same modes and forms. Of Scotland I shall hereafter speak. Of Ireland I will relate some facts, which are in themselves curious, and little known.—Usher formed articles of religion for the church of Ireland in the year 1615. These were approved in the convocation there, and confirmed by king James. Like those of the church of England, they were Calvinistical; but being drawn up by a man of sense, they opposed vehemently the popish doctrines, and priestly claims[a]. Laud liked not this, and therefore was not easy till he had got a canon passed in the Irish convocation in the year 1634, whereby the English articles were received, and the Irish thereby abolished[b]. This was matter of triumph to Laud, and mortification to Usher, whose sentiments and temper were different from the English metropolitans. But the manner in which this canon was obtained, does little honour to Charles's government, or to ecclesiastical assemblies. The particulars are contained in a letter from the lord-deputy Wentworth to Laud, dated Dublin, Dec. 16, 1634. "I found," says his lordship, "that the lower house of convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the church of England; that they did proceed in the examination without conferring at all with their bishops; that they had gone through the book of canons, and noted in the margin such as they

[a] See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 271. [b] Id. p. 272. Parr will not allow this, though I think him mistaken. See his Life of Usher, p. 42.

no way heeded or regarded by Charles or

allowed with an A, and on others they had entered a D. which stood for Deliberandum; that into the fifth article they had brought the articles of Ireland to be allowed and received, under the pain of excommunication; and that they had drawn up their canons into a body, and were ready that afternoon to make report in the convocation. I instantly sent for dean Andrews, the reverend clerk, who sat, forsooth, in the chair at this committee, requiring him to bring along the foresaid book of canons so noted on the margin, together with the draught he was to present that afternoon to the house: this he obeyed; and herewith I send your grace both the one and the other. But when I came to open the book, and run over their Deliberandums in the margin, I confess I was not so much moved since I came into Ireland. I told him certainly, not a dean of Limerick, but an Ananias had sate in the chair of that committee; however sure I was, Ananias had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam: that I was ashamed and scandalized with it above measure; I therefore said he should leave the book and draught with me, and that I did command him, upon his allegiance, he should report nothing to the house from that committee, till he heard again from me. Being thus nettled, I gave present direction for a meeting, and warned the primate, the bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Rapho, and Derry, together with dean Leisly the prolocutor, and all those who had been of the committee, to be with me the next morning. Then I publickly told them, how unlike clergymen, that owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded in their committee; how unheard a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles

his ministers, who zealously pursued this

of faith, without the privity or consent of state or bishop; what a spirit of Brownism and contradiction I observed in their Deliberandums, as if indeed they purposed at once to take away all government and order forth of the church, and leave every man to chuse his own high place, where liked him best. But these heady and arrogant courses, they must know, I was not to endure; nor if they were disposed to be frantick in this dead and cold season of the year, would I suffer them either to be mad in the convocation, or in their pulpits. First then, I required dean Andrews, as formerly, that he should report nothing from the committee to the house. Secondly, I injoined dean Leisly, their prolocutor, that in case any of the committee should propound any question herein, yet that he should not put it, but break up the sitting for that time, and acquaint me with all. Thirdly, that he should put no question at all, touching the receiving or not of the articles of the church of Ireland. Fourthly, that he should put the question for allowing and receiving the articles of England, wherein he was by name and in writing to take their votes, barely, content or not content, without admitting any other discourse at all; for I would not endure that the articles of the church of England should be disputed. And finally, because there should be no question in the canon that was thus to be voted, I did desire my lord primate would be pleased to frame it; and after I had perused it, I would send the prolocutor a draught of the canon to be propounded, inclosed in a letter of my own. This meeting thus broke off, there were some hot spirits, sons of thunder, amongst them, who moved that they should petition me for a free synod; but, in fine, they could not agree amongst themselves who

darling plan in England; and even in Ire-

should put the bell about the cat's neck, and so this likewise vanished. It is very true, that, for all the primate's silence, it was not possible but he knew how near they were to have brought in all those articles of Ireland, to the infinite disturbance and scandal of the church, as I conceive; and certainly would have been content I had been surprised. But he is so learned a prelate, and so good a man, as I do beseech your grace it may never be imputed unto him.—The primate accordingly framed a canon, a copy whereof you have here, which I not so well approving, drew up one myself, more after the words of the canon in England, which I held best for me to keep as close to as I could, and then sent it to my lord. His grace came instantly to me, and told me, he feared the canon would never pass in such form as I had made it; but he was hopeful, as he had drawn it, it might; he besought me therefore to think a little better of it. But I confess, having taken a little jealousy that his proceedings were not open and free to those ends I had my eye upon, it was too late now either to persuade or affright me. I told his lordship I was resolved to put it to them in those very words, and was most confident there were not six in the houses that would refuse them, telling him, by the sequel, we should see whether his lordship or myself better understood their minds in that point, and by that I would be content to be judged. Only for order sake, I desired his lordship would vote this canon first in the upper house of convocation; and so voted, then to pass the question beneath also, without any delay. Then I writ a letter to dean Leisly (the copy whereof I likewise send), with the canon inclosed, which accordingly that afternoon was unanimously voted, first with the bishops,

land, where true policy would have taught them to have formed the strongest opposition to popery, by encouraging protestants

and then by the rest of the clergy, excepting one man[a]." His majesty and Laud approved of the course held in this affair[b]. I think it is father Paul who relates, that it used to be said "that the Holy Ghost was sent from Rome to Trent in a cloke-bag." It had not here so long a journey: it resided in the castle with the deputy, and was ready to over-rule and influence all the debates and resolution of the holy Irish synod. Great deference, no doubt, then ought to be paid to its determinations, and absolute submission to its decrees. The honesty, courage, and perseverance of the members demand our admiration, as well as the meekness, humility, and modesty of the lord-deputy. Surely an uniformity brought about by such methods must be most desirable! I have in the text observed, that the establishing uniformity in modes and forms is prejudicial to truth, honesty, and the public welfare. To truth it evidently is hurtful, as it hinders the impartial search after it; to honesty, as it frequently causes men to act as the Irish convocation here did, that is, against their own sense of things; and to the public welfare, by driving away many useful members of society into foreign countries, where liberty is given of professing their sentiments, and acting conformable to them.—The political advantages of toleration are very well described by Puffendorf, who had seen the world, and been conversant with government. "Toleration," says he, "is found by experience to produce a great increase of people in a state; because a multitude of strangers will put themselves in there, for the

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p 343. [b] Id. p. 278.

of every kind, they were not wanting to promote it.

High sounding titles were now bestowed

sake of that desired liberty, which they could not elsewhere enjoy. And in such places it is more necessary that the ministers of the church be well studied in divinity, and very exemplary in their life and manners, that they may maintain their esteem and reputation, and be free from the reproaches of the adverse party, than where they have none to emulate them, in which case they are liable to fall into sloth and ill-manners. And in such places too it commonly comes to pass, that they are wont with more application and endeavour to instruct and confirm their people in their religion, as accounting it their disparagement to have them drawn away to another sect. But that which greatly concerns the prince of such a people, where different religions are tolerated, is, that he do take care that the liberty granted to all be strictly maintained, and that it be not either openly violated, or by any indirect methods abridged. And he must not suffer that any one party, where the toleration is universal, and much rather where all have the liberty of religion in their own right, do, by factions or secret artifices, put by those who differ from them in religion from bearing offices, or withhold them from any of the common benefits of subjects, or be any otherwise troublesome. For indeed the prince, if he does with equity and prudence manage this matter, will find, that those of the subjects who profess a different religion from his own, will be more respectful and officious to him, than those of his own religion; because they will hold it a special demonstration of his goodness and favour, if they find themselves not the less esteemed and regarded by him for their different

on Laud [44], who was thought willing to be

opinion: when as they who profess the same religion with him, will think all things their right and due that he does for them, and hardly hold themselves at all obliged to him for it [a]."

[44] High sounding titles were bestowed on Laud, &c.] The university of Oxford addressed him by the titles of *sanctitas tua, spiritu sancto effusissimè plenus, summus pontifex, archangelus, ut ne quid nimis.* Laud owns this, and says, "the meanest of these titles is *multum nimis*, far too much, applied to my person and unworthiness: yet a great sign it is, that I deserved very well of that university, in the place I then bare (the chancellorship); or else they would never have bestowed such titles upon me; and if they did offend, in giving such an unworthy man such high language, why are they not called in question for their own fault [b]?" We see here the pride of the man under the guise of humility! Had not the university known his temper, had they not found him fond of flattery, they never had bestowed it on him in so fulsome a manner. But they had found their account in it, and therefore practised it. Besides these titles, he had the following also given unto him: *Optimus maximusque in terris; ille quo rectior non stat regula, quo prior est corrigenda religio* [c]. He moreover is said "to have took on him to be the patriarch of this other world [d]." On the last of these titles, Sir Edward Dering, in a speech to the whole house, in a committee for religion, Nov. 23, 1640, observes as follows: "One parallel more I have, and that is this: among the papists there is one acknowledged supream pope, supream in honour, in order, and in

[a] Puffendorf's Divine Feudal Law, p. 13. 8vo. Lond. 1703. [b] Laud's Troubles and Tryal, p. 285. [c] Canterbury's Doome, p. 441. [d] Laud's Troubles, p. 286.

here, what his holiness was at Rome: and

power; from whose judgment there is no appeal.—I confess, Mr. Speaker, I cannot althogether match a pope with a pope; (yet one of the antient titles of our English primate was *alterius orbis papa.)* But thus far I can go, *ex ore suo.* It is in print.—He pleads fair for a patriarchate: and for such an one, whose judgment he (beforehand) professeth ought to be final: and then (I am sure) it ought to be unerring. Put these together, and you shall find that the final determination of a patriarch will want very little of a pope, —and then we may say,

—Mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

He pleads popeship under the name of a patriarch; and I much fear lest the end and top of his patriarchal plea may be as that of cardinal Pole (his predecessor), who would have two heads, one *caput regale*, another *caput sacerdotale:* a proud parallel, to set up the mitre as high as the crowne. But herein I shall be free and cleare: if one there must be (be it a pope, be it a patriarch), this I resolve upon, for my own choice *(procul a Jove procul a fulmine)*, I had rather serve one as far off as Tyber, than to have him come so neere as the Thames. A pope at Rome will doe me less hurt than a patriarch may doe at Lambeth[a]." Whether Laud in his book pleads for a patriarchate, I cannot say, having no opportunity to consult it. But what he says in answer to this charge, I shall give in his own words. "Let any man look into that place of my book, and he shall find that I make use of that passage only to prove, that the pope could not be appealed unto out of England, according to their own doctrine; which I

[a] Dering's Speeches, p. 14.

churchmen were exalted to some of the highest civil dignities[45], though not very

hope is no blasphemy. As for St. Anselme, howsoever he was swayed with the corruptions of his time, yet was he in other things worthy the testimony which the authors by me cited give him. And if any man be angry that the archbishop of Canterbury is called the patriarch of this other world, he may be pleased to remember, that St. Jerom gives St. Augustine, who was bishop of Hippo, and no archbishop, a greater title than that: for he writes, *beatissimo papæ Augustino*, more than once and againe[a]." It does not seem by this that he was charged wrongfully. This appealing to the fathers, and justifying names and things by them, would pass well enough in Laud's time. But soon after, Daillie assaulted their authority with vigour, and amongst protestants it continually lost ground. At present it seems little regarded amongst men of sense, who have perused the writings of Barbeyrac and Middleton, Le Clerc and Jortin. May it never more be revered! But may the New Testament alone have authority in matters of religion; and then we need not fear of hearing of popes or patriarchs in England, or seeing them assume the pomp and garb, the power and cruelty, for which the wretches adorned with these titles have been, for the most part, in all ages distinguished.

[45] Churchmen were exalted to some of the highest civil dignities, &c.] "There have been some who pretended to understand the scripture literally, and who would make mankind believe the poverty and low estate, which was recommended to the church in its infancy, and was only temporary doctrine adapted to her under persecution, was to be preserved in her flou-

[a] Laud's Troubles, p. 286.

well qualified for them.—But this was not all.—Great hardships were suffered by all

rishing and established state. The principles of Toland, Woolston, and all the free-thinkers, in the opinion of parson Barnabas, are not calculated to do half the mischief as those professed by these sort of men[a]." Whether Charles was himself, by ratiocination, convinced of the necessity of bestowing wealth, dignity, and power on men who professed themselves to be the more immediate ministers of him, who declared his kingdom was not of this world; or whether he was taught the expediency and necessity of so doing, by those who love to harangue on mortification, self-denial, contempt of the world, patience, and submission to God's will, and the meanness and worthlessness of all things here below, in comparison of that happiness which the good are taught to believe and expect in a future state. I say, whichsoever of these was the cause, certain it is Charles was a friend to churchmen, as far as conferring on them this world's goods could make him so. In the beginning of his reign, "he sent for all the bishops to come to him at four o'clock in the afternoon. We waited upon him, fourteen in number. Then his majesty chid us, that in his time of parliament we were silent in the cause of the church, and did not make known to him what might be useful, or was prejudicial to the church, professing himself ready to promote the cause of the church[b]." Nor were these barely words. Laud, in 1634, was named one of the commissioners for the exchequer, and was called into the foreign committee by the king[c]. These preferments Dr. Grey was ignorant of[d]; and for his infor-

[a] See Joseph Andrews, vol. I. p. 119. 12mo. Lond. 1742. [b] Laud's Diary, by Wharton, p. 32. [c] Id. p. 51. [d] Examination of Neale's 2d vol. p. 82.

those who refused to submit to the ecclc-

mation, as well as to do justice to the subject in hand, I mention them. How ill qualified he was for the business of the exchequer; and how rigorous and severe he was in his speech and behaviour, those who have a mind may see in lord Clarendon[a]. About a year afterwards, William Juxon, lord bishop of London, was made lord high treasurer of England. "No churchman," adds Laud, "had it since Henry VIIth's time. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the church may have honor[b], and the king and the state service and contentment by it. And now, if the church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more[c]." The archbishop seemed to imagine, we see, that Jesus Christ was not so well skilled as himself in the means of making the church hold up themselves, under God. But he was mistaken. "For this promotion of Juxon's inflamed more men than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the archbishop (who was the known architect of this new fabrick), but most unjustly indisposed

[a] Vol. I. p. 98, &c.

[b] The following lines in Dryden's character of a good parson, are worthy the consideration of the reader, who thinks the church may receive honour by state-trappings.

The prelate for his holy life he priz'd,
The worldly pomp of prelacy despis'd.
His Saviour came not with a gaudy show;
Nor was his kingdom of the world below:
Patience in want, and poverty of mind,
These marks of church and churchmen he design'd,
And living taught, and dying left behind.
The crown he wore was of the pointed thorn;
In purple he was crucify'd, not born.
They who contend for place and high degree,
Are not his sons, but those of Zebedee.

[c] Laud's Diary, p. 33.

siastical yoke, now attempted to be put on

many towards the church itself; which they looked upon as the gulph ready to swallow all the great offices, there being others in view, of that robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest [a]." The same noble author speaks with grief of some clergymen's "bold and unwarrantable opposing (at this time) and protesting against prohibitions, and other proceedings at law, on the behalf of ecclesiastical courts; and the procuring some orders and privileges from the king, on the behalf of the civil law, even with an exclusion of the other: as the archbishop of Canterbury," says he, "prevailed with the king to direct, thathalf the masters of the chancery should be always civil lawyers; and to declare that no others, of what condition soever, should serve him as masters of request [b]."

And to what a pitch of pride the prelates were arrived, we may learn from Mr. Whitlock. "In the censure of Bastwick," says he, "all the bishops then present denied openly that they held their jurisdiction, as bishops, from the king, for which perhaps they might have been censured themselves in the times of Hen. II. or Ed. III. But they affirmed that they had their jurisdiction from God only, which denyal of the supreamacy of the king, under God, Hen. VIII. would have taken ill, and it may be would have confuted them by his kingly arguments, and *regia manu;* but these bishops publicly disavowed their dependance on the king [c]."

And in Michaelmas term, in the year 1631, certain questions were propounded to the judges, touching the clergy.

1. Whether clergymen were bound to find watch and ward [illegible] or night? To this the answer was deferred.

[a] [illegible] vol. I. p. 99. [b] Id. vol. II. p. 305. [c] Whitlock, p.

the necks of Englishmen, and very severe punishments were inflicted [46] on those who

2. Whether clergymen might be compelled to take apprentices, by the statute 43 Eliz. of the poor. The judges answered, that no man was out of the statute; and gave their reasons.

This case, says the author, I have reported, because it sheweth somewhat of the expectation and temper of the clergy in that time [a].

I will conclude this note with the words of May.—"Archbishop Laud, who was grown into great favour with the king, made use of it especially to advance the pompe and temporal honour of the clergy, procuring the lord treasurer's place for Dr. Juxon, bishop of London; and endeavouring, as the general report went, to fix the greatest temporal preferments upon others of that coat; insomuch as the people merrily, when they saw the treasurer with the other bishops riding to Westminster, called the Church Triumphant. Doctors and parsons of parishes were made every where justices of peace, to the great grievance of the country in civil affairs, and depriving them of their spiritual edification. The archbishop, by the same means which he used to preserve his clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy; and, as the wisest could then prophecy, to more than probability of losing all [b]."

[46] Severe punishments were inflicted, &c.] Nothing is more amazing than that there should have been men of sense and reason, who have countenanced persecution in all its kinds and degrees. But it is astonishing there should have been any, who pretended to be followers of the meek and merciful Jesus, who dared to practise it: of Jesus, who

— held it more humane, more heav'nly first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,

[a] Whitlock, p. 17. [b] Parliamentary History, p. 23.

had courage enough publicly to oppose them. The sufferings of Leighton, Prynne,

> And make persuasion do the work of fear;
> At least to try, and teach the erring soul
> Not wilfully mis-doing, but unware
> Misled; the stubborn only to subdue. MILTON.

But too true it is, there have been many who professed themselves Christians, who have acted directly contrary hereunto; and who have seemed to imagine that they had a right to beat their fellow-servants, for not submitting to their usurped sway. Of this sort were the ruling part of Charles's clergy, who were permitted by him to wreak their malice and revenge on those who opposed them. The hardships of the nonconformists in this reign are well known. They were suspended, deprived, excommunicated, and by means thereof forced to leave their habitations, and seek shelter in wildernesses in a foreign land, where they found that protection which their country refused them, became rich and powerful, and are now one great source of our trade and commerce.

To enter into a detail of the hardships which the puritans suffered, will be needless, as the reader may see them in one view in a late Essay towards attaining a true Idea of this Reign, written by a very ingenious gentleman. I will only give the following specimen of the ecclesiastical proceedings in this time, from Sir Edward Dering, who, in a speech to the house, Nov. 10, 1640, has the following words: "Mr. Speaker, I will present unto you the petition of a poor oppressed minister in the county of Kent: a man orthodox in his doctrine, conformable in his life, laborious in the ministerie, as any we have, or I do know. He is now a sufferer (as all good men are) under the general obloquy of a puritan.——The pursuivant watches his doore, and divides him and his cure asunder, to both their

Bastwick and Burton, are read still with hor-

griefs.—About a week since I went over to Lambeth, to move that great bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger off from this minister, and to recall the pursuivant. And withal I did undertake for Mr. Wilson (for so your petitioner is called), that he should answer his accusers in any of the king's courts at Westminster. The bishop made me answer (as well as I can remember), *in hæc verba*, 'I am sure that he will not be absent from his cure a twelvemonth together, and then (I doubt not) but once in a year he shall have him.' This was all I could obtain; but I hope (by the help of this house), before this year of threats run round, his grace will either have more grace, or no grace at all. For our manifold griefs doe fill a mighty and vast circumference, yet so that from every part our lines of sorrow doe lead unto him, and point at him, the center from whence our miseries in this church, and many of them in the commonwealthe, doe flow [a]."

It is very remarkable, that Milton was hindered from engaging in the ministerial office, by the consideration of the church-tyranny which was at this time erected. He was destined, he tells us, from a child, to the service of the church, by the intentions of his parents and friends, and his own resolutions: "'Till," says he, "coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing [b]."

Let us now proceed to the punishments inflicted on

[a] Dering's Speeches, p. 9

[b] Prose Works, vol I. p. 65

ror by those who have any compassion; and

the opposers of these kind of sovereign tyrannical ecclesiastics. In 1630, Alexander Leighton was prosecuted in the Star-chamber, for writing a book intitled, "An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against Prelacy;" and by reason hereof it was decreed, "That Leighton should be committed to the Fleet, during life, unless his majesty should be graciously pleased to enlarge him; to pay a fine of 10,000*l.* to the king; to be degraded of his ministry; be brought into the pillory at Westminster (the court sitting), and there whipt; and after his whipping, be set upon the pillory for some convenient space, and have one of his ears cropt off, and his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double SS, for a sower of sedition: be then carried to the prison of the Fleet, and at some other time be carried into the pillory at Cheapside, upon a market-day, and be there likewise whipt, and then be set upon the pillory, and have his other ear cut off; and from thence be carried back to the prison of the Fleet, there to remain during life, unless his majesty shall be graciously pleased to enlarge him[a]." This sentence, as far as the corporal punishment was concerned, was executed in its full rigour. The long parliament, happily for him, released him from his fine and imprisonment. "The severe punishment of this unfortunate gentleman," says Rushworth, "many people pitied, he being a person well known both for learning and other abilities; only his untempered zeal (as his countrymen then gave out) prompted him to that mistake, for which the necessity of affairs at that time required this severity from the hand of the magistrate, more than perhaps the crime would do in a following juncture[b]." No such crimes as Leighton's, I hope, will ever, in any

[a] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 56. [b] Id. vol. I. p. 58.

stand as eternal monuments of the cruelty

following juncture, be thus punished in any part of the British dominions. I have this appeal to the parliament now before me, by the favour of a very learned gentleman of the long robe [a], and have read by far the greatest part of it; and cannot, for my life, see any thing in it deserving of so heavy a censure. The book is written with spirit, and more sense and learning than the writers of that stamp usually shewed in their productions. He treats the bishops without ceremony; speaks of them, even in his title-page, as intruders upon the privileges of Christ, of the king, and of the commonweal, and declares the land shall never prosper by correspondencies with them. Speaking of the bishops, he says, "their lording over the land hath robbed the nobilitie of honor, blessing to their state, of their families, yea and of their soules; and that not only by giving evil example, but also by keeping out the power of the means, by which they should have been moulded, and the true discipline of Christ, by which they should have been kept in compasse: give them therefore an alarm; make them see their miserie, and the bishops to be the cause of it.—Proclaim to all sorts of people, from the Word, the impietie and iniquitie of the prelates places and practices; discover to the prelates their dangerous condition, will them to come out of Babel, and to cast off their antichristian pomp. Shew them and the people the fearful sin of pestering God's worship, and overlaying people's consciences, with the inventions of men, yea with the trumperie of Antichrist [b]." I will transcribe no more from this book, that I may not be

[a] Nicholas Munckley, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq.

[b] Syon's Plea against Prelacy, p. 274. 4to. printed the year and month wherein Rochelle was lost.

of the government, and the influence of the

tiresome to the reader; who, though he may condemn the sharpness of the expressions (as well as his styling the queen a Canaanite and idolatress, which Mr. Whitlock attributes to him), will, I doubt not, think that the men who were capable of getting such a punishment inflicted on the writer, were far enough from deserving gentle usage from the world.

But to go on. In the year 1632, William Prynne, well known to the world by his very voluminous, and some very useful writings[a], especially in the law, published his Histrio-Mastix, for which "he was fined five thousand pound to the king, expelled the university of Oxford and Lincoln's-Inn; degraded and disabled from his profession in the law; to stand in the pillory, first in the Palace-yard in Westminster, and three days after in Cheapside, in each place to lose an ear, to have his book publickly burnt before his face by the hand of the hangman, and remain prisoner during life[b]." Heylin says, that part of the punishment, which affected his ears, was much moderated in the execution: but Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the lord deputy Wentworth, dated London, June 3, 1634, tells him, "no mercy shewed to Prynne: he stood in the pillory, and lost his first ear in a pillory in the palace at Westminster in full term; his other in Cheapside, where, while he stood, his volumes were burnt under his nose, which had almost suffocated him[c]." The same gentleman, in another letter, informs his lordship, "that Mr. Prynne had got his ears sowed on, and that they grew again as before to his head." I have turned to some places in this book of Mr. Prynne's, which is a thick folio, containing 1006 pages; and cannot but admire

[a] See Oldys's British Librarian, p. 11. 8vo. Lond. 1738. [b] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 265. [c] Strafforde's Letters, vol. I. p. 261.

priests. It is fit all should be acquainted

at the weakness, as well as wickedness, of those who treated him in so vile a manner on account of it. Had they let the man alone, few people would have read his book, which is a very tedious dull performance, though it abounds with learning, and has some curious citations; but to use him in so barbarous a manner for high and keen invectives against vice, or what he took to be such, was a barbarity unheard of.—Might not a man, without offence, speak against a sin, though the prince is known to be guilty of it? If not, what must our preachers do, when the sovereign happens to be at some distance from a saint? Prynne deemed acting of popular or private interludes, for gain or pleasure, infamous and unlawful, and that as well in princes and nobles as common actors: he declared players to have been infamous amongst Christians and pagans, rogues by statute, and subject to the whipping-post; that women-actors among the Greeks and Romans (for so he expressly speaks, and no otherwise) were all notorious, impudent, prostituted strumpets[a]. This was the passage that gave the handle for Prynne's punishment, as appears from the following account of Mr. Whitlock's. "About this time," says he, "Mr. Prynne published his book called Histrio-Mastix, by licence of archbishop Abbot's chaplain, which being against plays, and a reference in the table of the book to this effect, 'Women-actors notorious whores,' relating to some women-actors mentioned in his book, as he affirmeth: it happened that, about six weeks after this, the queen acted a part in a pastoral at Somerset-house; and then the archbishop Laud, and other prelates, whom Prynne had angered by some books of his against Arminianism, and against the jurisdiction of the bishops, and by some

[a] Histrio-Mastix, p. 214. Lond. 1633.

with these matters, in order the better to

prohibitions which he had moved, and got to the high commission court. These prelates and their instruments, the next day after the queen had acted her pastoral, shewed Prynne's book against plays to the king, and that place of it, 'Women-actors notorious whores;' and they informed the king and queen, that Prynne had purposely written this book against the queen and her pastoral, whereas it was published six weeks before that pastoral was acted. Yet the king and queen, though thus exasperated, direct nothing against him, till Laud set Dr. Heylin (who bare a great malice to Prynne, for confuting some of his doctrines) to peruse Prynne's books, and to collect the scandalous points out of them, which Heylin did.—The archbishop went with these notes to Mr. attorney Noy, on a Sabbath-day morning, and charged him to prosecute Prynne for this book, which Noy afterwards did rigorously enough in the Star-chamber[a]." It is not at all improbable that the ecclesiastics had an old grudge against Prynne, who in this book provoked them afresh, by asserting, that bishops ought to invite the poor to their tables, and to have some part of the scripture read at meals, and then to discourse of it; that they ought to preach constantly once a day; that ministers ought not to meddle with secular affairs, nor to bear secular offices; that they should be resident on their cures, and preach twice a day. This, had there been nothing else, was enough to enrage these kind of men, who loved power and ease far more than labouring in the vineyard, at such an unconscionable rate as this author would have had them.

In the year 1636, Bastwick, a doctor of physic, having printed a pamphlet called Flagellum Episcoporum

[a] Whitlock, p. 18.

form a judgment of times which have been

Latialium, thought to reflect on the bishops, and also a Litany in pursuit of the same design, was brought into the Star-chamber: as were Henry Burton, for two sermons published by him full of railing against their lordships; and William Prynne, just mentioned, for pelting Laud, who had so ill used him, in a pamphlet or two, with other prelates of the same persecuting stamp. These jointly drew up an answer; but could get no counsel to sign it, through fear of the court; and though they petitioned for liberty, in their counsel's default, to put in their answers under their own hands, yet they were refused (as they also were denied the liberty of exhibiting a cross bill against Laud and his adherents), and they taken *pro confessis;* "their obstinacy in not answering in due form of law," says Heylin, "being generally looked on by the court as a self-conviction. Whereupon they received sentence to this effect.—Prynne to be fined to the king 5000*l.* to lose the remainder of his ears in the pillory, to be branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L. for a schismatical libeller, and to be perpetually imprisoned in Carnarvan Castle. Bastwick and Burton to be condemned in the like fine of 5000*l.* to be pilloried, and lose their ears: the first to be imprisoned in the castle of Launceston in Cornwall, and the second in the castle of Lancaster. This sentence was accordingly executed, to the great discontent of many moderate and well-meaning men, and the prisoners were conveyed to their several places of confinement; from whence afterwards they were removed, out of the way of their friends, to the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly[a]." When this sentence was pronounced, Laud gave thanks to the lords, "for their just and honourable

[a] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 334.

and are so much celebrated. If to what

censure upon these men, and for their unanimous dislike of them and defence of the church[a]."

Mr. Hume, speaking of these sentences, observes, that the severity of the Star-chamber was, perhaps, in itself somewhat blameable; but will, naturally, to us, appear enormous, who enjoy to the full that liberty of the press, which is so necessary in every monarchy, confined by legal limitations. But as these limitations were not legally fixed during the age of Charles, nor at any time before, so was the freedom of speech totally unknown, and was generally esteemed, as well as religious toleration, incompatible with all good government. No age nor nation, among the moderns, had ever set an example of such indulgencies: and it seems unreasonable to judge of the measures embraced during one period, by the maxims which prevail in another[b]. But it is to be hoped the measures of this as well as every other reign, are to be judged by the maxims of equity: if they are inconsistent with these, they deserve condemnation, though of ever so long a practice; otherwise those of Muley Ishmael may escape censure. Mr. Hume had forgot, when he writ the above, that he himself had told us before, "that a toleration was continued to the Huguenots; the only avowed and open toleration, which at that time was granted in any European kingdom[c]."

I will add some particulars concerning these unhappy men, from Strafford's Letters and Dispatches, which will serve as a supplement to our common historians. Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the lord-deputy Wentworth, dated London, March 23, 1636, writes, "one Dr. Bastwick, a physician (who writes an excellent Latin stile, formerly censured in the high commission), Burton and

[a] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 384. [b] Hume, p. 213. [c] Id. p. 187.

has been said, we add a brief account of

Prynne, for their libellous books lately printed, are called into the Star-chamber. Burton's parishioners in London sent a petition to the king, underwritten by sixty with their names, to intreat for his pardon and liberty: two of them brought it, who were committed for their pains[a]." The same gentleman, in another letter, has the following paragraphs. "One St. John of Lincoln's-inn, upon some information to the lords, that he should have some hand in drawing Burton's answer, so lawyer-like it is done, had his study searched, and all his papers seized on by Sir William Becher, and carried away; which made much noise in the town, because he was of council with my lord Say, about that great argument of the writ of gathering the ship-money, which is hereafter to be handled. But Sir William Becher fairly suffered him to seal up those papers, which were sent him within two days after, having found no ground for that information[b]."—— Some few days after the end of the term, in the palace-yard, two pillories were erected, and there the sentence of Star-chamber against Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne, was executed. They stood two hours in the pillory; Burton by himself, being degraded in the high commission court three days before: the place was full of people, who cried and howled terribly, especially when Burton was cropt. Dr. Bastwick was very merry; his wife, Dr. Poe's daughter, got a stool, kissed him: his ears being cut off, she called for them, and put them in a clean handkerchief, and carried them away with her. Bastwick told the people, the lords had collar-days at court; but this was his collar-day, rejoicing much at it." The liberty given to the prisoners to speak in the pillory was highly displeasing

[a] Strafforde, vol. II. p. 57. [b] Id. p. 85.

the restraints on the press, and the suffer-

to Laud, who thus writes to Wentworth, in a letter dated Croydon, Aug. 28, 1637.—" What say you to it, that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those notes spread in written copies about the city; and that when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else[a]?" In the same letter afterwards this prelate writes: " Once again you return to Prynne and his fellows, and observe most rightly, that these men do but begin with the church, that they might after have the freer access to the state; and I would to God, other men were of your lordship's opinion; or if they be so already, I would they had some of your zeal too for timely prevention; but for that we are all too secure, and will not believe there's any foul weather towards us, till the storm break upon us. For in what sort these men were suffered in the pillory, and how they were attended out of the city, I have already written; and since I hear Prynne was very much welcomed, both at Coventry and West-Chester, as he passed towards Carnarvon." Nature seemed to have designed Laud for the office of an inquisitor. He was fierce and unrelenting in disposition, void of mercy and compassion, and grudged those whom his rage had reduced to very great extremities, even the pity and assistance of standers-by. What worse character can exist? Who can be more justly odious to every good man, than a vain mortal armed with power, and using it to wreak his vengeance on his foes? Ought not the memory of such wretches to be treated with a

[a] Strafforde, vol. II. p. 99.

ings of such as attempted to break through

proper indignation?——Laud, in the above letter, speaks of the attendants the prisoners had going out of the city: Mr. Garrard will explain this more fully. —"Mr. Ingram, sub-warden of the Fleet, told the king, that there was not less than one hundred thousand people gathered together to see Burton pass by, betwixt Smithfield and Brown's Well, which is two miles beyond Highgate: his wife went along in a coach, having much money thrown to her as she passed along. —Complaint hath been made to the lords of the council of a sheriff of West-Chester, who when Prynne passed that way through Chester to Carnarvon Castle, he with others met him, brought him into town, feasted and defrayed him: besides, this sheriff gave him a suit of coarse hangings to furnish his chamber at Carnarvon Castle: other presents were offered him, money and other things; but he refused them. This sheriff is sent up for by a pursuivant[a]." In short, all that affronted Laud suffered; nor were there any that transgressed against him left unpunished. One Boyer, who abused him to the face, and accused him of no less than high treason, was brought into the Star-chamber, and censured; nor could he permit even a crack-brained lady to prophesy against him, without giving her the discipline of the high commission court[b]. It would be endless to reckon up the severities inflicted in this reign on those who opposed the governing ecclesiastics. Persecution in every shape, but that of death, appeared, and continually increased. Men's fears were alarmed, their pity excited, and they knew not well what to do. Their persecutors they looked on with horror, and could hardly view them under the character of Christians.—Nor were their thoughts of

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 114. [b] See Heylin, p. 266.

them[47], we shall enable the reader fully to

them, perhaps, too hard. It being observed by a very ingenious writer, "that 'tis not the believers of religion, but infidels and atheists, who, in every country, have always been the severest persecutors, and cruellest oppressors of all civil as well as religious liberty. For as this life is their all, they are the more jealous in guarding it; the more severe in suppressing every innovation in practice or opinion, which might tend possibly to disturb their repose: this is the constant observation of all who are versed in history, especially in that of the Jews, where the Pharisees, however strict in the observance of their religion, were always mild and gentle in the seat of judgment; whereas the Sadducees, though little concerned for religion, were most implacable and rigorous animadverters on every slight transgression of the law[a]."—It is remarkable that Laud, even when in the Tower, expressed no remorse for his treatment of these men, who then were brought home, and used with great respect by the people. "I shall crave leave," says he, "to say of these men, as St. Augustin once said of two great Donatists in his time, who (it seems) had received some sentence, and afterwards a return, not altogether unlike these men [they were Felicianus and Pretextatus]. Of those, thus St. Augustine: If these men were innocent, why were they so condemned? And if they were guilty, why were they with such honour returned and received? This applies itself[b]." I shall only observe, that the severity made use of to uphold the church, as it was at this time pretended, was one very great reason of its after-fall. For persecution, unless it be extreme and constant, has always been hurtful to those who used it.

[47] I will add a brief account of the restraints on the

[a] Middleton's Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 170. 4to. Lond. 1752. [b] Laud's Troubles, p. 255.

comprehend the measures made use of

press, and the sufferings of such as attempted to break through them.] The liberty of the press is most invaluable: it protects all other liberties, dispels ignorance and superstition, priestcraft and tyranny, and causes truth of all kinds to be known, beloved, and embraced. Wise and good men, for the most part, have been for the liberty of the press; as well knowing, that to it we are indebted for the improvements in philosophy and polite learning; for freedom of thought, and of enquiry, in religious matters; and that knowledge which happily is become common among those who are acquainted with its productions. Wicked ministers, and tyrannical ecclesiastics, dread it, as fearing it will operate to their destruction; but such as have honest views, and benevolent purposes, encourage it, and oppose every restraint of it. It is many times abused, without doubt; (and which of heaven's bounties is not?) but the good effects of it are so numerous, that that man deserves ill of his country who lends his hand in the least to overthrow it, and his memory will deservedly be branded with infamy. However, this blessing was wanting under Charles's government, as it had been under that of his predecessors. For licences were to be had of some bishop or other, or the chancellors of the universities; and such books as were printed without these were liable to be seized, though the matter contained in them was most unexceptionable. But this alone would not answer the views of Charles's government; and therefore a decree was made in the Star-chamber, in July 1637, which, as it will afford the best idea of the rigour of these times, I will give an account of. It was to this effect: "That none shall presume to print any book or pamphlet whatsoever, unless the same be first licensed, with all the

at this time, in order to subdue the con-

titles, epistles, and prefaces therewith imprinted, by the lord archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of London, for the time being, or by their appointment; and within the limits of either university, by the chancellor or vice-chancellor thereof, upon pain that every printer, so offending, shall for ever thereafter be disabled to exercise the art of printing, and shall suffer such further punishment as by this court, or the high commission, shall be thought fitting; that before any books imported from foreign parts shall be exposed to sale, a true catalogue thereof shall be presented to the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of London: and that no officer of the customs shall deliver any foreign books out of their hands and custody, before those bishops shall have appointed one of their chaplains, or some other learned man, with the master and wardens of the company of stationers, or one of them, to be present at the opening of the pack and fardels, and to view the same. And those that disobey this injunction, are to be censured in this or the high commission court, as the several causes shall require. And if in this search there happen to be found any schismatical or offensive books, they shall be brought to the aforesaid bishops, or the high commission office, that the offenders may be punished. That no person whatsoever shall imprint in the parts beyond the seas, or import from thence, any English books, or whereof the greater part is English, whether formerly printed or not; and that no books whatsoever shall be reprinted, though formerly licensed, without a new licence first obtained, upon pain of like censure and punishment. And that if any person whatsoever, that is not an allowed printer, shall presume to set up a press for printing, or work at any such press, or set

sciences of men to the dominion of the priesthood: a thing always attended with the most unhappy consequences.

and compose letters for the same, he shall be set in the pillory, and whipt through the city of London[a]." A decree this, little less severe than those of the Romish inquisitors! But those who made it, took care to execute it in its full rigour. They refused to license many books written against Popery and Arminianism; nor would they grant a new licence for reprinting Fox's book of Martyrs, Bishop Jewel's works, and some part of Dr. Willet's[b], with many others. But this was not the worst of it. "John Warton and John Lilburne (who made a figure afterwards by opposing even Cromwell himself) were brought into the Star-chamber, and ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, touching their printing contrary to the above-mentioned decree; and they refusing to take an oath to answer to interrogatories, were sentenced to go back to the Fleet, and there remain till they complyed with the orders of the court; to pay 500*l.* each to his majesty, and be bound with sureties for their good behaviour. And to the end, that others may be the more deterred from daring to offend in the like kind hereafter, the court further ordered and decreed, that the said John Lilburne should be whipt through the streets, from the prison of the Fleet to the pillory [placed between Westminster-hall-gate and the Star-chamber]; and that he and Warton should be both of them set in the said pillory, and from thence be returned to the Fleet, there to remain according to the said decree[c]."

[a] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 463. [b] Canterbury's Doom, p. 184. See a passage of Sir Edward Dering's, in the note 38. [c] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 465.

If we now turn our eyes to the administration of civil affairs, we shall find it far enough from being commendable.

"This sentence was executed with the utmost rigour on Lilburne, who was smartly whipt from the Fleet to Westminster." But Lilburne had an unconquerable spirit.—"Whilst he was whipt at the cart, and stood in the pillory, he uttered many bold speeches against the tyranny of bishops, &c. and when his head was in the hole of the pillory, he scattered sundry copies of pamphlets (said to be seditious), and tossed them among the people, taking them out of his pocket; whereupon the court of Star-chamber (then sitting), being informed, immediately ordered Lilburne to be gagged during the residue of the time he was to stand in the pillory, which was done accordingly; and when he could not speak, he stamped with his feet, thereby intimating to the beholders, he would still speak, were his mouth at liberty." This bold behaviour only provoked the merciless court the more: for it immediately decreed, "That Lilburne should be laid alone with irons on his hands and legs in the wards of the Fleet, where the basest and meanest sort of prisoners are used to be put." This Mr. Hume, with his usual exactness, says, was in consequence of his being "brought to his tryal anew[a]."

It was moreover ordered, "That hereafter all persons that shall be produced to receive corporal punishment, according to sentence of that court, shall have their garments searched before they be brought forth, and neither writing nor other thing suffered to be about them, and their hands likewise to be bound during the time they are under punishment[b]."

[a] History of Great Britain, p. 216. [b] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 467.

Charles entertained very high notions of

Lilburne underwent this likewise, though of a genteel family, and a man far above the vulgar in point of understanding. What shall we think of such government as this! These punishments were fitter for Russian boors, used from their infancy to the whip, than for Englishmen who had been trained up under mild laws, and a gentle government. Thank God, the times are altered, or we never had had so many admirable discourses on religion and liberty!

Milton, in his most excellent speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing, speaking of the popish Imprimaturs, observes, that "sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise in the piatza of one title-page, complimenting and ducking each to other with their shaven reverences, whether the author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the press or to the sponge. These," continues he, "are the pretty responsories; these are the dear antiphonies, that so bewitched of late our prelates and their chaplains with the goodly eccho they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly Imprimatur, one from Lambeth-house, another from the west end of St. Paul's; so apishly romanizing, that the word of command was still set down in Latin, as if the learned grammatical pen that wrote it, would cast no ink without Latin; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to express the pure conceit of an Imprimatur: but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous and foremost in the atchievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enow to spell such a dictatory presumption Englished[a]."

I will conclude this note with the words of a gentle-

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 153.

the regal power[48]. He thought himself

man, now in a high station. "It will not be denied, that our ecclesiastical affairs were under a meer clerical administration from the year 1628 to the meeting of the long parliament. A period remarkably infamous for a series of weak, angry, ill-concerted measures: measures calculated to beget in weak minds a veneration towards the hierarchy; but executed with a pedantick severity, which produced a quite contrary effect. Certain enthusiastick conceits concerning the external beauties of religion, and the necessity of a general uniformity in the business of holy garments, holy seasons, significant gestures, church utensils and ornaments, seem to have been the ruling principles of those times. These filled the gaols with church-criminals, and sent thousands of our most useful hands to seek their bread in foreign parts. Through the influence these principles had on our spiritual governors, multitudes of learned and conscientious preachers were silenced, and exposed at once to the two greatest trials which can befall human nature, publick infamy, and remediless want. These principles alone, and a conduct on our part suited to them, broke our union with the reformed churches abroad, and fomented a war in Scotland: which, together with a general alienation of affections at home, occasioned in great measure by a rigorous exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, prepared things for that scene of misery, which ended in the ruin of our constitution. These were the effects of an administration purely sacerdotal, in matters commonly called spiritual[a]."

[48] Charles entertained very high notions of the regal power.] Here are my proofs. "While Harrington (author of the celebrated Oceana) waited on his

[a] Examination of the Codex, p. 72. 2d edit. Lond. 1735. 8vo.

accountable only unto God, and that his

majesty at Holdenby," says Wood, "his majesty loved his company, and did chuse rather (finding him to be an ingenious man) to discourse with him, than with others of the chamber. They had often discourses concerning government; but when they happened to talk of a commonwealth, the king seemed not to endure it[a]." And against the levellers and anti-monarchists, he wrote in one of his books these lines from the poet:

> "Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit
> Servitium. Nunquam libertas gratior extat
> Quam sub rege pio.[b]"——

But to give an authority most unquestionable, his majesty publicly avowed, in a speech to the lords and commons, "That he owed an account of his actions to none but God alone[c]."—And in one of his papers to Henderson, he says, "I hold it absolutely unlawful for subjects (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make war (though defensive) against their lawful sovereign[d]." And on his trial he affirmed, "That a king cannot be tried by any superiour jurisdiction on earth[e]." And again: "I do not know how a king can be a delinquent." And afterwards he asserts, "That the authority of obedience to kings is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded, both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, continued he, I am ready instantly to prove. And for the question now in hand, there it is said, that where the word of a king is, there is power; and who may say unto him, What do'st thou? Eccl. viii. 4. Then for the law of this land, I am no less confident, that no learned lawyer will affirm that an impeachment can lye against the king,

[a] Wood's Athenæ, vol. II. p. 588. King Charles's Works, p. 164.
[b] Dugdale's short View, p. 383.
[c] Id. p. 194.
[d] Id. p. 87.

subjects, by the divine law, ought not to

they all going in his name; and one of their maxims is, That the king can do no wrong[a]." These were the sentiments of Charles, which he learned at the feet of Gamaliel, as he styles his father[b], "who, if his ghost," says he to Henderson, "should now speak, he would tell you, that a bloody reformation was never lawful, as not warranted by God's word, and that *preces & lacrymæ sunt arma ecclesiæ*[c]." So that lord Bolingbroke was probably right in saying, "This prince had sucked in with his milk those absurd principles of government, which his father was so industrious, and, unhappily for king and people, so successful in propagating. He found them espoused, as true principles both of religion and policy, by a whole party in the nation, whom he esteemed friends to the constitution in church and state. He found them opposed by a party, whom he looked on indiscriminately as enemies to the church and to monarchy. Can we wonder that he grew zealous in a cause, which he understood to concern him so nearly, and in which he saw so many men, who had not the same interest, and might therefore be supposed to act on a principle of conscience, equally zealous? Let any one, who hath been deeply and long engaged in the contests of party, ask himself, on cool reflection, whether prejudices, concerning men and things, have not grown up and strengthened with him, and obtained an uncontroulable influence over his conduct? We dare appeal to the inward sentiments of every such person.—With this habitual biass upon him, king Charles came to the throne; and to compleat the misfortune, he had given all his confidence to a madman[d]." This seems the best apology

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 196. [b] Id. p. 159. [c] Id. p. 80.
[d] Craftsman, vol. VII. p. 391.

resist his will. In consequence hereof, he

for Charles on this head: Mr. Hume's is of a like nature[a]. "However," as Gordon well observes, "it is a poor and contemptible ambition in a prince, that of swelling his prerogative, and catching at advantages over his people: it is separating himself from the tender relation of a father and protector, a character which constitutes the glory of a king; and assuming that of a foe and an enemy. This is what a prince of a great and benevolent spirit will consider; not himself as a lordly tyrant, nor them as his property and slaves; but himself and them, under the amiable and engaging ties of magistrate and fellow-citizens. Such was the difference between a queen Elizabeth and Richard the second: how glorious and prosperous the reign of the one, how infamous and unhappy that of the other! What renown accompanies her memory, what scorn his! It is indeed apparent from our history, that those of our princes who thirsted most violently after arbitrary rule, were chiefly such as were remarkable for poor spirit and small genius, pedants, bigots, the timorous and effeminate[b]."

It were to be wished all princes had the following lines, which beautifully set forth the duty and office of a king, engraved on the tables of their hearts. They are put into the mouth of Jesus, and are worthy of his benevolent mind.

> What if with like aversion I reject
> Riches and realms; yet not for that a crown
> Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
> Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights
> To him who wears the regal diadem,
> When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;

[a] Hume's Political Discourses, p. 266. 8vo. in the not. Edinburgh, 1752. See also his History of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 118, in the note.
[b] Discourses upon Tacitus, vol. IV. p. 227.

thought contemptuously of parliaments[49],

For therein stands the office of a king,
His honor, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears.
Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;
Which every wise and virtuous man attains:
And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,
Subject himself to anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him which he serves;
But to guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and knowing worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly; this attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force, which, to a generous mind
So reigning, can be no sincere delight. MILTON.

[49] He thought contemptuously of parliaments, &c.] In his speech to the lords and commons at Whitehall, March 29, 1626, we have the following paragraph: "Remember that parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution; therefore as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue, or not to be. And remember that if in this time, instead of mending your errors, by delay you persist in your errors, you make them greater and irreconcileable: whereas, on the other side, if you go on chearfully to mend them, and look to the distressed state of Christendom, and the affairs of the kingdom, as it lyeth now by this great engagement, you will do yourselves honor, you shall encourage me to go on with parliaments, and I hope all Christendom shall feel the good of it[a]."——Charles seemed to have forgot that there were statutes then in being for annual parliaments. But if there had not, "the power of

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 161.

treated many of the members of it with

assembling and dismissing the legislative, placed in the executive, gives not the executive a superiority over it; but is a fiduciary trust reposed in him, for the safety of the people, in a case where the uncertainty and variableness of human affairs could not bear a steady fixed rule. For it not being possible, that the first framers of the government should, by any foresight, be so much masters of future events, as to be able to prefix so just periods of return and duration to the assemblies of the legislative, in all times to come, that might exactly answer all the exigencies of the commonwealth; the best remedy could be found for this defect, was to trust this to the prudence of one who was always to be present, and whose business it was to watch over the public good. Constant frequent meetings of the legislative, and long continuations of their assemblies, without necessary occasion, could not but be burthensome to the people, and must necessarily in time produce more dangerous inconveniences, and yet the quick turn of affairs might be sometimes such as to need their present help: any delay of their convening might endanger the public; and sometimes too their business might be so great, that the limited time of their sitting might be too short for their work, and rob the public of that benefit which could be had only from their mature deliberations. What then could be done, in this case, to prevent the community from being exposed sometime or other to eminent hazard, on one side or the other, by fixed intervals and periods, set to the meeting and acting of the legislative, but to intrust it to the prudence of some, who, being present, and acquainted with the state of public affairs, might make use of this prerogative for the public good? And where else

reproachful words, even publicly and in

could this be so well placed as in his hands, who was intrusted with the execution of the laws for the same end? Thus supposing the regulation of times for the assembling and sitting of the legislative, not settled by the original constitution, it naturally fell into the hands of the executive, not as an arbitrary power depending on his good pleasure; but with this trust, always to have it exercised only for the public weal, as the occurrences of times and change of affairs might require[a]." This reasoning is worthy of the Englishman and philosopher.

I now return to the subject. His majesty, in a speech to the speaker of the house of commons of his second parliament, 1625-6, tells him, "I must let you know, that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you; much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me[b]." And in a speech to the lords and commons, at his opening of his third parliament, March 7, 1627-8, he, among other things, thus declared his sentiments.—"In this time of common danger I have taken the most antient, speedy, and best way for supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) in not contributing what may answer the quality of my occasions, you do not your duties, it shall suffice I have done mine: in the conscience whereof I shall rest content, and take some other course, for which God hath empowered me, to save that which the folly of particular men might hazard to lose. Take not this as a menace (for I scorn to threaten any but my equals), but as an admonition from him who is tied, both by nature and duty, to provide for your preservations[c]."——When Bucking-

[a] Locke on Government, p. 247. 8vo. Lond. 1728. [b] King Charles's Works, p. 161. [c] Id. p. 162.

the face of the world; violated their known and fundamental privileges; imprisoned their persons; sealed up their studies; and procured heavy fines to be laid on them by

ham was fallen upon by the commons, and many members had spoken sharply against him, the king went to the house of lords, and told them, "The cause, the only cause of his coming thither, was to express the sense he had of all their honors; for he that toucheth any of you," said he, "toucheth me in a very great measure. I have thought fit to take order for the punishing some insolent speeches lately spoken: I have been too remiss heretofore in punishing such speeches as concern myself. Not that I was greedy of their monies, but that Buckingham, through his importunity, would not suffer me to take notice of them, lest he might be thought to have set me on, and that he might come the forwarder to his tryal[a]."

I will add but one passage more from his speech to the house of lords, at the dissolving of his third parliament, March 10, 1628-9. Taking notice of the house of commons, he says, "Some few vipers among them cast this mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes;"—and then tells them in like words, "These vipers must look for their reward of punishment[b]." He was as good as his word; for those who opposed him in parliament, or such as he feared would not comply with him there, felt heavy marks of his displeasure. "Sir Dudley Diggs, and Sir John Elliott, were committed to the Tower for words spoken in the house against Buckingham[c]." And the commons having "voted the seizing Mr. Rolles's goods (a member of the house) to be a breach of privilege, a hot debate was

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 161. [b] Id. p. 166. [c] Whitlock.

his judges. A judgment in the opinion of succeeding parliaments illegal, and against the freedom and privilege of parliament.

All these violations of the rights and pri-

upon it: the speaker being called upon to put the question proposed, said he durst not; for the king had commanded the contrary. The house in some disturbance adjourn to a day; and then being met again, they wish the speaker to put the former question; but he refused, and said he had a command to adjourn the house[a]."—Upon the dissolution of the parliament, "warrants of the council issued for Hollis, Selden, Hobart, Elliott, and other parliament-men [nine in number], to appear before them: Hollis, Curriton, Elliott, and Valentine appeared; and refusing to answer out of parliament, for what was said and done in parliament, they were committed close prisoners to the Tower; and a proclamation for apprehending others went out, and some of their studies sealed up[b]. Informations were exhibited by the attorney-general against these gentlemen in the Star-chamber, and in the King's Bench; in the latter of which judgment was given against them, That they should be imprisoned, and not delivered till they had given security for their good behaviour, and make a submission and acknowledgment of their offences: and they were also fined[c]." Elliott was fined 2000*l*. Hollis 1000 marks, and Valentine 500*l*[d]." Elliott, refusing to give security, was detained many years in prison, where he ended his days, and was looked on as a martyr by the people. This judgment was declared afterwards by the parliament, in 1641, to be against law and privilege of

[a] Whitlock, p. 12. [b] Id. p. 13. [c] Id. p. 14. [d] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 691; Croke's Reports, part 3d. p. 182. fol. Lond. 1683.

vileges of the legislative body, were offered in about three years after Charles ascended the throne. In this period three parliaments being dissolved by him, he issued a

parliament; and very handsome sums were ordered to be paid out of the public money to the confessors for public liberty. But by a strain of generosity uncommon, Mr. Hollis refused the 5000*l.* voted him, and said he would not receive a penny till the public debts were paid. He only received 1000 marks fine imposed on him, which he had laid down in ready money, and this only because his whole estate had been kept from him in the west for three years. Some of the other gentlemen refused to receive what was given them[a]. It were to be wished our modern patriots inherited a like public spirit.

It is very remarkable, that this judgment given against Hollis, &c. was, by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, in Dec. 1667, also declared "to be an illegal judgment, and against the freedom and privilege of parliament. And it was ordered by the lords, That Denzil Hollis, then lord Hollis, be desired to cause the roll of the court of King's Bench, wherein the said judgment is recorded, to be brought before the lords in parliament by a writ of error, to the end that such further judgment may be given upon the said case, as this house shall find meet: which being by him accordingly done, the judgment was reversed[b]."—Nor were the privileges of the commons alone violated by this prince. Such of the house of peers as were displeasing to him, or his favourite, suffered very great oppressions. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was not

[a] Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 140. 8vo. Lond. 1699. [b] Croke's Reports, part 3d. p. 604—610.

proclamation for suppressing false rumours touching parliaments, in which he declared, "he should count it presumption for any to prescribe any time to him for parlia-

summoned to parliament till he had complained thereof to the king, who then granted it; but for fear of displeasing he appointed a proxy. And in the next parliament the lord keeper Coventry, by order, writ to him to dissuade him from appearing at it, with which he thought not proper then to comply [a], though if he had, he might possibly have escaped some of his after-troubles from the court. "The earl of Bristol's writ was stopped, after he had been confined to his house two years; who thereupon petitioned the lords for his right of peerage, to have a writ to attend the house, and that he might be brought to his tryal in parliament. Whereupon the lords prayed the king, that Bristol, and other lords, whose writs were stopped, might have their writs; and they had them: but Bristol by petition to the lords, acquainted them, that he had received his writ to attend the parliament; but withal a letter missive from the lord keeper, signifying his majestie's pleasure, that he should forbear coming to the parliament [b].—And the lords were discontented at the commitment of the earl of Arundel, about his son's marriage with the duke of Lenox his sister; and with breaches of their priviledges; and upon the release of Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliott, the lords petitioned the king for the earl of Arundel's release. The king sent a message that he was committed for personal misdemeanours against the king, and not for any matters of parliament. The earl of Arundel had five proxies, which were lost by his imprisonment, and no precedent

[a] Phillips's Life of Williams, p. 193. [b] Whitlock, p. 4.

ments; the calling, continuing, and dissolving of which, says he, is always in our own power[a]." From this time the subject underwent a thousand oppressions[50].

was found of any peer committed, sitting the parliament, except that of the bishop of Winchester, in Edward the Third's time. The house of lords voted *(nemine contradicente)*, That no lord ought to be committed, sitting the parliament, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. And in pursuance hereof they voted a remonstrance to the king to declare their right, and to his majesty to release the earl of Arundel. But they petitioned and petitioned in vain, till at length the king, finding them bent on the earl's liberty, discharged him[b]."——Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, also, having been long slighted at court, fell under the king's "high displeasure, for refusing to license Sibthorp's sermon; and not long after he was sequestred from his office, and a commission was granted to five bishops, one of which was Laud, to execute archiepiscopal jurisdiction[c]."

Some other flagrant instances of the violation of the privileges of parliament, I shall have occasion hereafter to take notice of: at present these shall suffice.

[50] From this time the subject underwent a thousand oppressions.] Charles, from the commencement of his reign, had been guilty of great acts of oppression, as will appear from the following passages in a most unexceptionable writer.

"In the year 1625, he sent out his letters to the lord lieutenants of counties, touching a general loan of money to him[d]." And in 1626, "the king required a

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 231. [b] Whitlock, p. 6. [c] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 431. [d] Whitlock, p. 2.

Loans and benevolences were exacted without pretence of law, and gentlemen of distinction were imprisoned, and otherwise ill treated, for refusing to contribute to them.

loan of money, and sent to London and the port-towns to furnish ships for guard of the seas.—London being rated twenty ships, desired an abatement: the council denied it; and in answer to their precedents, said, That the precedents in former times were obedience, and not direction. A benevolence was likewise required [a].—To the imposing of loans was added the billeting of soldiers; martial law was executed, and the soldiers committed great outrages. Sir Randal Crew, chief-justice, not favouring the loan, was put out of his place. —Some who refused to lend money to the king, were forced to serve in the king's ships then going forth; and refusers in the country, were some of them committed, and the meaner sort pressed to serve as soldiers.—The gentlemen here, who refused to pay the loan, were confined in other counties, and in close imprisonment, and some of them in common gaols: Sir John Elliott, one of them, in a petition to the king, sets forth the illegality of the loan, or of any tax, without parliament; taking this way to inform the king what his council did not; and he alledgeth his conscience not to submit to it, and prays his liberty; but could not obtain it. Sir Peter Haiman, another refuser, was sent upon an errand, as far as the Palatinate [b]." And lord Haughton, in a letter to Sir Thomas Wentworth, dated St. Bartlemews, May 19, 1627, writes, "Sir Harbottle Grimstone of Essex was laid up last week: his neighbours of Chelmsford, the six poor tradesmen, stand out stiffly, notwithstanding the many

[a] Whitlock, p. 7. [b] Id. p. 8.

Tunnage and poundage were taken without any consent of parliament, and such as would not submit to the payment of them,

threats and promises made them; which made one say, that honour, that did use to reside in the head, was now, like the gout, got into the foot[a]."—These proceedings were looked on as very grievous and illegal; and therefore, in order to prevent the renewal of them, the petition of right was first framed, and after much chicanery and many struggles on the king's part, past into a law. The enacting clauses in this important law are these: "That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament; and that none else be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or to be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof. And that no freeman, in any such manner, as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained. And that your majesty will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come. And that all commissions for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest, by colour of them, any of your majestie's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land. All which, say the lords and commons, they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare,

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. I. p. 38.

had their goods seized, their persons imprisoned, and heavy fines imposed on them. Arbitrary fines also were laid on such as

That the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. And that your majesty will be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, That in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom[a]."—No law could be more clearly and strongly expressed than this, none less liable to an evasion. But though Charles gave his royal assent to it, he soon broke it, to his own dishonour and his subjects' grief. Tunnage and poundage were taken by him without grant by parliament, and some merchants were committed for not paying it. Mr. Rolles's goods were seized, though a member of parliament, on the same account, by the customers, who insolently declared, "if all the parliament were concerned in the goods, they would seize them." And being questioned by the house for taking the goods of parliament-men, they with boldness answered, "That they conceived no privilege of parliament was in the case." This distasting the commons, the king sent a message, "That what the customers did was by his order, and that he would not have his particular interest severed from that of his servants, who acted by his command[b]." Of small force were laws in the opinion of this prince we see, and little was their authority valued by him, though he himself had assented to them!—Chambers, who

[a] Stat. 3 Car. c. i. sect. 10, 11. [b] Whitlock, p. 12.

had neglected to take on them the order of knighthood, at his majesty's coronation; monopolies were created, in a manner, of

had denied payment of the customs, as not given by parliament, was afterwards proceeded against in the Star-chamber, fined 2000 *l.* and ordered to make a submission, which, with the fortitude of a Roman, he refused! But the officers of the customs had detained 7060 *l.* of his goods; he himself was imprisoned six years in the Fleet; and though by the commons, in 1640, ordered 13,680 *l.* in part of reparation for his sufferings in this cause, and his nine months' imprisonment in 1637, for withstanding ship-money; yet, to their very great disgrace, he was put off from time to time; till wearied out by delays, he was reduced to a low estate and condition, and died in 1658, aged about seventy [a].

"Mr. Vassal also was brought into the Exchequer, for not paying tunnage and poundage: he pleaded *Magna Charta*, and the statute *de Tallagio non concedendo;* and that this imposition was not by assent in parliament. The barons refused to hear his council, gave judgment against him, and imprisoned him [b]."—"After the dissolution of that parliament, wherein the abovementioned petition of right was granted, England was governed for twelve years without a parliament.—Tunnage and poundage were continued without any consent of parliament; the book of rates upon merchants' goods were enhanced, and the collection of them enforced out of the course of ordinary courts of justice. The next design," says Rushworth, "for money was, by proclamation, to revive an obsolete law about knighthood; under colour whereof summons

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 679. [b] Whitlock, p. 12.

all sorts of commodities; and the bounds of the forests were enlarged, to the unspeakable damage of many persons of the best

were sent throughout the kingdom, to every man possessed for three years of 40*l.* *per Annum*, who did not appear before the king at his coronation to be made a knight, to submit to such fines as they could compound for; and James Maleverer, of Arncliff, in the county of York, Esq; put himself upon the judgment of the court of Exchequer, what fine they should think fit to impose upon him: but the court doubting the law would not bear them out, refused that regular course of imposing a fine, and put the party submitting, to go and compound with commissioners in the country, contrary to the intent of the law. Another advice to advance the king's revenue, was, to grant patents under the great seal; by which monopolies were created, in a manner, of all sorts of commodities; as soap, salt, wine, leather, sea-coal, cards, pins, even to the sole gathering of rags; which projects were countenanced with the name of Incorporations. Another advice was given to raise a revenue for the king, by granting of commissions under the great seal for offenders to compound; and the better to effect the same, some examples were made by sentence in the high court of Star-chamber, against several persons, to pay great fines, as for depopulations, nusances in building between high and low water-mark, for pretended encroachments upon the forests, with other things of that nature: and accordingly commissions were issued out, and offenders in that kind did compound, which brought in a considerable revenue[a]." Let not the reader think these were small matters. For from what follows it ap-

[a] See Rushworth's Preface to his 2d vol.

quality. And lastly, says lord Clarendon, "for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply of all occasions, a writ was framed in

pears they were great grievances, abominable hardships. Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the lord deputy Wentworth, dated London, Nov. 10, 1634, has the following words:—"Whitfield is made a serjeant, but not the king's: he hath received this addition for the service he hath done at Dean Forest, and for a later in Essex; for they would have brought all Essex, from Stratford-Bow to Colchester, to be forest. 'Tis not yet judged; for the gentlemen of that county being unprepared for a defence, they have time given them until the 20th of February; then the justice in eyre will set again. If then they cannot free themselves, they must for ever submit themselves to forest law.

"One Sir Anthony Roper of Kent, was fined in the Star-chamber for depopulations four thousand pounds, to the relator one hundred pounds, to the parson of his parish one hundred pounds, and to the poor of the same parish one hundred pounds: he is enjoined also to repair those houses he hath demolished within two years, to let his farms at reasonable rates: if he should dye in the interim, yet is he obliged to have these things performed, and not to come forth of prison till he hath given security for the true performance of every part of this censure[a]." The same gentleman, in a letter to the same, dated April 14, 1635, tells him, "The justice-seat in Essex hath been kept this Easter-week, and all Essex is become forest; and so, they say, will all the counties of England but three; Kent, Surry, and Sussex[b]."—Great complaint was made against

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. I. p. 335. [b] Id. p. 413.

form of law, and directed to the sheriff of every county of England, to provide a ship of war for the king's service, and to send it amply provided and fitted, by such a day

these proceedings of the justice in eyre in Essex. "It was alledged by the country, that the meets, meers, limits, and bounds of forests, were adjudged by them to extend further than they were taken to be in the 20th year of king James, and contrary to those bounds by which the country had enjoyed them near the space of 300 years. Complaint was also made that the said court, to effect their design, did unlawfully procure undue returns to be made by jurors, in joining with them other persons who were not sworn; the court also using threatening speeches to make them give a verdict for the king. And when the country, who thought themselves hardly dealt withal, did desire to traverse the proceedings against them, having just cause against the evidence, yet the court denied the same, except what they should verbally speak; whereupon the council for the country told the justice-seat, that their proceedings were contrary to law, and to the charter of the liberties of the forests, and other charters, and divers acts of parliament. Nevertheless the court obtained a verdict for the king; at which time the justice-seat was called by adjournment to sit, and continued sitting, to maintain and confirm the verdict given against the country.—By the sentence of the court many inhabitants were fined great sums of money, or forthwith depart from their houses and estates, and retire out of the forests; for that they were found, by verdict given against them, to have encroached upon the forests[a]." Some more of these proceedings this

[a] Rushworth, vol. III. p. 1056.

to such a place; and with that writ were sent to each sheriff instructions, that, instead of a ship, he should levy upon his county such a sum of money, and return the

gentleman, in other letters, informs his lordship of. In a letter dated Petworth, Oct. 3, 1635, he says, "My lord of Holland, the 3d of October, is commanded to Winchester, to finish his justice-seat for the New Forest, where more especially comes in question the manor of Beawly. My lord of Southampton hath been at court about it: it much concerns him in his fortune; it yields him now from his tenants 2500*l.* a year: if it should prove forest, it would yield but 500*l.* yearly. So that his French wife, with whom he had little, and this business, would utterly ruin him in his fortune. But howsoever it go, I hope his majesty will be so merciful to him, that he will confer some special marks of his favour to make him subsist, and live like an earl and peer of England[a]."

I will add but a passage more from a letter of his, dated Sion, Oct. 9, 1637, written to the same noble lord.

"About the 20th of September, my lord of Holland went to keep his great court of justice in eyre, both in Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire. Against Rockingham forest were found many great trespassers: my lord was assisted by five judges, Bridgman, Finch, Trevor, Jones, and Crawley, and those who were found faulty were soundly fined: my lord of Salisbury, for his father's faults, if he made any, for Brigstock parks, given him by queen Elizabeth, was fined 20,000*l.* but I hope he will come off; for 'tis said, if his council had been well informed by those servants of his who at-

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. I p. 467.

same to the treasurer of the navy for his majesty's use, with direction, in what manner he should proceed against such as refused: and from hence that tax had the

tended the business, and had shewed in time those pardons which king James gave Robert earl of Salisbury, when he came to the crown, he had escaped fining; but now he is at the king's mercy. The earl of Westmoreland was fined 19000 *l.* Sir Christopher Hatton 12000 *l.* my lord Newport 3000 *l.* Sir Lewis Watson 4000 *l.* Sir Robert Bannister 3000 *l.* my lord of Peterborough, my lord Brudenell, Sir Lewis Tresham, and others, little fines, which I omit. The bounds of the forest of Rockingham are increased from six miles to sixty. The particulars of his proceedings in Oxfordshire, I know not: it was no great matter he did there. My lord Danby was fined 500 *l.* which he hath sent in[a]." And that no orders or degrees should escape from oppression, there was at the same time "a commission in execution against cottagers, who have not four acres of ground laid to their houses, upon a statute made 31 Eliz. which, saith Mr. Garrard, vexeth the poor people mightily, is far more burthensome to them than the ship-moneys; all for the benefit of lord Morton, and the secretary of Scotland, the lord Stirling: much crying out there is against it, especially because mean, needy, and men of no good fame, prisoners in the Fleet, are used as principal commissioners to call the people before them, to fine and compound with them[b]." These facts will help us to form a tolerable idea of part of the oppressions of this reign: oppressions unknown to the English nation, and which the king's best friends have been forced to acknow-

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 117. [b] Strafforde, vol. II. p. 117.

denomination of ship-money[a]." This was

ledge. Let us hear lord Clarendon.——"Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defects of laws; and so tonnage and poundage, and all other duties upon merchandizes, were collected by order of the board, which had been positively refused to be settled by act of parliament, and new and greater impositions laid upon trade. Obsolete laws were revived, and rigorously executed, wherein the subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to enquire what was his own. By this ill-husbandry the king received a vast sum of money from all persons of quality, or indeed of any reasonable condition, throughout the kingdom, upon the law of knighthood; which though it had a foundation in right, yet, in the circumstances of proceeding, was very grievous. And no less unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the king, the profit to other men: insomuch, that of two hundred thousand pound drawn from the subject by these ways, in a year, scarce fifteen hundred came to the king's use or account. To recompense the damage the crown sustained by the sale of the old lands, and by the grant of new pensions, the old laws of the forest were revived, by which not only great fines were imposed, but great annual rents intended, and like to be settled by way of contract, which burden lighted most upon persons of quality and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and were therefore like to remember it with more sharpness[b]." After this, who can say any thing in justification of these measures?

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 68. [b] Id. vol. I. p. 67.

held very grievous by the nation[51]; but was

[51] Ship-money. This was held very grievous by the nation.] I will give an account of this affair in the words of Mr. Whitlock. "The king, in the year 1634, finding the controversy begun (between the English and Dutch about the fishery), and that it must be maintained by force, which his want of money could not do, he, by the advice of his attorney Noy [who, from a seemingly zealous patriot, by court influence, was become a tool to destroy the liberties of his country], and of the lord keeper Coventry, who, as far as his learning in those matters did extend, (and that was not far) did approve and assist the project. And by advice of his privy council, and council learned, the king requires ship-money. The writ for it was at first but to maritime towns and counties; but that not sufficing, other writs were issued out to all counties to levy ship-money. Yet great care was taken to favour the clergy: all the rest of the people, except courtiers and officers, generally murmur at this tax; although it was politickly laid with all equality, yet the great objection against it was, because it was imposed without assent of parliament, and therefore it was unlawful[a]."—"The lord keeper Coventry was ordered to direct the judges to promote that business in their circuits this summer, and to persuade the people to a ready obeying the writs, and payments of ship-money for the next year. This he did; and in consequence thereof some of the judges put on this business in their charges at the assizes, with great zeal and gravity, to advance the king's pleasure; but they did not convince many of the legality of that business. The privy-council also wrote letters to every high sheriff of England, directing them

[a] Whitlock, p. 23.

submitted to for some time, though unwill-

for the taxing, and levying of ship-money; and that with great care and equality, much beyond what was observed in following taxes. But the guilding of this illegal pill would not cause it to be swallowed down; but many people, especially of the knowing gentry, expressed great discontent at this new assessment, and burthen, as an imposition against law, and the rights of the subject[a]." However, the people submitted to it for a time; and it produced to his majesty, in the year 1636, £202,240 2s. 3d[b].—At last a man of spirit arose: a patriot indeed, the ever-glorious John Hampden, who being assessed twenty shillings[c] on the account of ship-money, refused payment; it being, in his opinion, an illegal tax. "Whereupon the king was advised by the lord chief justice Finch, and others, to require the opinion of the judges, which he did, stating the case in a letter to them, After much sollicitation by the chief justice Finch, promising preferment to some, and highly threatening others whom he found doubting, as themselves reported to me, he got from them, in answer to the king's letter and case, their opinion in these words: 'We are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, your majesty may, by writ under the great seal of England, command all your subjects of this your kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of ships, with men, victuals and ammunition, and for such time as your majesty shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom, from such peril and danger. And that by law your majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness. And we are also of opinion, that in such case your majesty is the sole

[a] Whitlock, p. 24. [b] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 344. [c] Id. p. 481.

ingly. Mr. Hampden at length refusing,

judge, both of the dangers, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.'—This opinion was signed by Bramston, Finch, Davenport, Denham, Hutton, Jones, Croke, Trevor, Vernon, Berkley, Crawley, Weston. This opinion and subscription of the judges was enrolled in all the courts of Westminster, and much distasted many gentlemen of the country, and of their own profession, as a thing extrajudicial, unusual, and of very ill consequence in this great business, or in any other. The king, upon this opinion of his judges, gave order for proceeding against Hampden in the Exchequer, where he pleaded; and the king's council demurring, the point in law came to be argued for the king by his council, and for Hampden by his council; and afterwards the judges particularly argued this great point at the Bench, and all of them (except Hutton and Croke) argued, and gave their judgments for the king.—But Hampden, and many others of quality and interest in their countries, were unsatisfied with this judgment, and continued to the utmost of their power in opposition to it; yet could not, at that time, give any further stop or hinderance to the prosecution of the business of ship-money [a]."—Thus, as lord Bolingbroke justly observes, Charles's "government was not only carried on without law, or against law, but the judges were become the instruments of arbitrary power [b]."—But this judgment of the judges, in the opinion of lord Clarendon, proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned (Mr. Hampden), than to the king's service [c].—"My lord Finch's speech in the Exchequer-chamber," says the same noble writer, "made ship-money much more abhorred, and

[a] Whitlock, p. 25. [b] Craftsman, vol. VII. p. 393. [c] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 68.

payment, the case was laid before the

formidable than all the commitments by the council-table, and all the distresses taken by the sheriffs in England: the major part of men (besides the common unconcernedness in other men's sufferings) looking upon those proceedings with a kind of applause to themselves, to see other men punished for not doing as they had done; which delight was quickly determined, when they found their own interest, by the unnecessary logick of that argument, no less concluded than Mr. Hampden's[a]." And in another place he takes notice, that this pressure "of ship-money was borne with much more cheerfulness before the judgment for the king, than ever it was after; men before pleasing themselves with doing somewhat for the king's service, as a testimony of their affection, which they were not bound to do; many really believing the necessity, and therefore thinking the burthen reasonable; others observing, that the advantage to the king was of importance, when the damage to them was not considerable; and all assuring themselves, that when they should be weary, or unwilling to continue the payment, they might resort to the law for relief, and find it. But when they heard this demanded in a court of law as a right, and found it, by sworn judges of the law, adjudged so, upon such grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able to swear was not law, and so had lost the pleasure and delight of being kind and dutiful to the king; and instead of giving, were required to pay, and, by a logick that left no man any thing which he might call his own, they no more looked upon it as the case of one man, but the case of the kingdom; nor as an imposition laid upon them by the king, but by the judges; which they thought themselves bound, in

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 71.

judges, who unanimously gave their opinion

conscience to the public justice, not to submit to. It was an observation long ago by Thucydides, That men are much more passionate for injustice, than for violence; because, says he, the one coming as from an equal, seems rapine; when the other proceeding from one stronger, is but the effect of necessity. So, when ship-money was transacted at the council-board, they looked upon it as the work of that power they were all obliged to trust, and an effect of that foresight they were naturally to rely upon. Imminent necessity and public safety were convincing persuasions; and it might not seem of apparent ill consequence to them, that upon an emergent occasion the regal power should fill up an *hiatus*, or supply an impotency in the law. But when they saw in a court of law (that law, that gave them a title to, and possession of all that they had) reason of state urged as elements of law, judges as sharp-sighted as secretaries of state, and in the mysteries of state; judgment of law grounded upon matter of fact, of which there was neither enquiry nor proof; and no reason given for the payment of the thirty [twenty] shillings in question, but what included the estates of all the standers-by, they had no reason to hope that doctrine, or the promoters of it, would be contained between any bounds; and it is no wonder that they who had so little reason to be pleased with their own condition, were no less sollicitous for, or apprehensive of, the inconveniences that might attend any alteration [a]."

The many just observations in this quotation will be my apology for the length of it with the intelligent reader, who from thence will easily perceive how illegal and odious this ship-money was.

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 69.

in favour of the king. Whereupon orders were given to proceed against Hampden in

I will add some particulars concerning this ship-money, for the information and entertainment of the reader. Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the lord-deputy Wentworth, dated Strand, Jan. 11, 1634, has the following passage. "In my last I advertised your lordship, that the mayor of London received some reprimand, for being so slow in giving answer to the writ sent into the city about the shipping business: afterwards the city-council were called before the lords, and received some gentle check, or rather were admonished, to take heed how they advised the city in a case so clear for the king, wherein his majesty had first advised with his learned counsel, and with his council of state. It wrought this effect, that they all yielded, and instantly fell to seizing in all the wards of London. It will cost the city at least thirty-five thousand pounds. They hoist up the merchant strangers; Sir William Curtyre three hundred and sixty pounds, Sir Thomas Cutcale three hundred pounds: great sums to pay at one tax, and we know not how often it may come. It reaches us in the Strand, being within the liberties of Westminster, which furnisheth out one ship. My lord of Bedford sixty pounds; my lord of Salisbury twenty-five pounds; my lord Clare forty pounds; the lord-keeper and lord treasurer, twenty pounds a-piece. Nay, lodgers; for I am set at forty shillings. Giving subsidies in parliament, I was well content to pay to, which now hath brought me into this tax; but I tell my lord Cottington, that I had rather give and pay ten subsidies in parliament, than ten shillings in this new-old way of dead Noye's. Letters are also gone down to the maritime counties to quicken them. Have you heard the answer given by a great

the Exchequer, where he pleaded; and the point was argued with great solemnity by

lord that hath been a judge? 'Tis true, this writ hath not been used when tunnage and poundage was granted; now it is not, but taken by prerogative; *ergo*, this writ is now in full force[a]."——In another letter of his, dated Charter-house, May 10, 1638, he tells his lordship, "Four judges have argued the ship-writ this term: first, baron Trevor, who concluded for the king; with him judge Crooke [Croke], who directly concluded against the legality of the writ. Now at the end of the term came judge Jones, who handled the business so, that no man could tell what to make of his argument; in dock, out nettle, sometimes for the king, then for the subject; so that when he ended, judge Finch asked him, for whom he concluded? He said, for this time for the king. Judge Hutton spake long and strong to make that good which was his opinion, and concurred with his brother Crooke, concluding against the king[b]."—Laud, in a letter to Wentworth, dated Lambeth, 14th May, 1638, speaks of the judgment of the judges in the following terms. "The judges have argued by four in a term, and so eight are past, and four to come for the next term: of the eight that are past, none have gone against the king, but J. Crooke, and J. Hutton, who both did it, and very sourly. The accidents which have followed upon it already are these: first, the faction are grown very bold. Secondly, the king's monies come in a great deal more slowly than they did in former years, and that to a very considerable sum. Thirdly, it puts thoughts into wise and moderate men's heads, which were better out; for they think, if the judges, which are behind, do not

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p. 358. [b] Id. vol. II. p. 167.

the council and the judges, who all, Croke and Hutton excepted, adhered to their former opinion, and thereby, in effect, gave

their parts exceedingly well and thoroughly, it may much distemper this extraordinary and great service[a]." However, the writs continued to be issued out, and money raised by virtue of them till the beginning of the long parliament, when it was resolved upon the question, *nemine contradicente*, "That the charge imposed upon the subjects for the providing and furnishing of ships, and the assessments for raising of money for that purpose, commonly called ship-money, are against the laws of the realm, the subjects right of property, and contrary to former resolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right.

"Resolved upon the question, *nemine contradicente*, That the extrajudicial opinion of the judges, published in the Star-chamber, and inrolled in the courts of Westminster, *in hæc verba*, &c. (reciting the judgment) in the whole and every part of them, are against the laws of the realm, the right of property, and the liberty of the subjects, and contrary to former resolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right.

"Resolved upon the question, *nemine contradicente*, That the writ following, *in hæc verba*, &c. and the other writs commonly called ship-writs, are against the laws of the realm, the right of property, and the liberty of the subject, and contrary to former resolutions in parliament, and the petition of right[b]."

This parliament, not content with voting, ordered impeachments against several of the judges for betraying the liberties of the subjects, and breaking through those "laws of which they were the sworn guardians."

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 170. [b] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 68.

up every thing to the crown. These oppressions were attended with severe and terrible punishments, inflicted by the Star-

And on Feb. 13, 1640, "Sir Robert Berkly was taken from the Bench by the usher of the black rod, and carried away to prison, which struck a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting: the other judges submitted themselves to the pleasure of the house of lords, and gave great bail for their appearance; but, I think, they had the luck to escape farther punishment, except Berkly, who, in order to redeem himself, advanced ten thousand pounds to the parliament[a]." However, their names have been had in abhorrence by all the lovers of our constitution. Such as imagine that this imposition was not worth the noise that was made about it in those days, will do well to attend to what follows. It is strong and unanswerable.

"'Tis a maxim in politics, which we readily admit as undisputed and universal, that a power, however great, when granted by law to an eminent magistrate, is not so dangerous to liberty, as an authority, however inconsiderable, which he acquires from violence and usurpation. For besides that the law always limits every power, which it bestows, the very receiving it as a concession establishes the authority whence it is derived, and preserves the harmony of the constitution. By the same right that one prerogative is assumed without law, another may also be claimed, and another, with still greater facility: while the first usurpations both serve as precedents to the following, and give force to maintain them. Hence the heroism of Hampden, who sustained the whole violence of royal prosecution, rather than pay a tax of 20s. not imposed by

[a] Whitlock, p. 40. Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 130.

chamber[52], for comparatively small matters,

parliament: hence the care of all English patriots to guard against the first encroachments of the crown: and hence alone the existence, at this day, of English liberty[a]." Pity it is, this same gentleman had not understood history a little better than to say, in another work, "that Charles, after the laying on of ship-money, in order to discourage all opposition, proposed the question to the judges, which they answered in the manner above mentioned[b];" and that "all the judges, except four, at the public arguing in the Exchequer, gave it in favour of the crown[c]:" I say, it is pity he should say this, because Mr. Whitlock, and our other historians, would have informed him, that Charles consulted not the judges till after Mr. Hampden's refusal; and Croke and Hutton alone, when it came to be publicly argued, gave it against the king.——Historians, above all men, should remember the maxim in Prior:

"Authors, before they write, shou'd read."

[52] Severe and terrible punishments were inflicted by the Star-chamber, &c.] The court of Star-chamber, though of great antiquity, is but little mentioned in the law-books. The reason of which is thought to be, because it intrenched too much upon the common law of England. "By a statute made in the third year of king Henry the Seventh, power is given to the chancellor, the lord treasurer of England for the time being, and the keeper of the king's privy seal, or two of them, calling unto them a bishop and a temporal lord of the king's most honourable council, and the two chief justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, for the time being, or other two justices in their ab-

[a] Hume's Political Discourses, p. 152. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1752. [b] History of Great Britain, p. 217. [c] Id. p. 219.

exorbitant fines on persons of all ranks and

sence, to proceed as in that act is expressed, for the punishment of some particular offences."

In the antient year-books it is called *Camera Stellata*, not because the chamber where the court is kept is adorned with stars, but because it is the seat of the great court, and the name is given according to the nature of the judges thereof.—"It was a glorious sight, upon a star-day, when the knights of the garter appear with the stars on their garments, and the judges in their scarlet; and in that posture," says Rushworth, "they have sat sometimes from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon. And it was usual for those that came to be auditors at the sentence given in weighty causes, to be there by three in the morning to get convenient places and standing. The warden of the Fleet, or his deputy, constantly attended in court to receive their lordships' commands, as there was occasion." This court was, for the most part, made up of the great officers of the crown, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, and the lord chief justice. "In the time of Hen. VII. and Hen. VIII. their number was near 40 at one time, and 30 in the reign of Eliz. oft-times: after that it was much lessened. However, in Charles's time there were sometimes 24 or 26 members present on some important tryals. This court had many times inflicted fines and punishments; but 'twas only in the days of Charles, that cropping of ears, slitting of noses, branding of faces, whipping and gagging, were heard of in it[a]." These now were become common, and excited compassion towards the sufferers, and indignation against such as were the authors of their calamities.—I have already mentioned the cruel punishment inflicted on

[a] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 479.

qualities, together with the imprisonment of

Leighton, Burton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Lilburn, on account of ecclesiastical matters: I will add a few more on account of civil affairs, that the reader may see the unrelenting severity wherewith the people were treated in this reign.

"I remember," says Osborn, "after Felton had given the fatal blow to George duke of Buckingham, one Savil [he called himself Savage, but his name was Heron], formerly burnt in the shoulder for a rogue (finding how acceptable the news was, wherever it came), gave out, he was the man that did it; and that, though an honourable person's brother, he wanted money to convey him away: upon which he was apprehended, and, though not worth a groat, fined a considerable sum in the Star-chamber; to which the wisdom, equity, and justice of that court added (because they wanted power to hang him) this corporal punishment, viz. That he should be whipped from the Fleet, where he lay prisoner, to the pillory in Westminster palace-yard, there to be for two hours nailed, and after to lose one ear, have his nose slit, and then to be branded in the forehead; all which, as long as the bowels of humanity would give me leave, I looked upon. Nor was this more than half his punishment, as much being to be done to him in Cheapside; but that (as I heard) the king, more charitable than his judges, did pardon it; though his perpetual residence in Bridewell was not remitted, till for another thing (some thought unlikely to be done under such a restraint) he was hanged at Tyburn[a]. One Dorothy Blackburn, for a conspiracy to charge a person for treason, was, among other things, ordered to be well whipped in the palace-yard at Westminster, standing on a high place with a pa-

[a] Osborne's Works, p. 690; and Rushworth, vol. III. Appendix, p. 18.

their persons for a great length of time.

per on her head, declaring her offence, and be branded in the face with the letter F and A, signifying a false accuser; and to stand in like sort, and to be whipt at Leicester[a]. One Watson, for falsifying the records of the court of Star-chamber, was committed to the Fleet, never to be enlarged, unless his majesty please to grant him a special pardon; and if ever he be enlarged, then to be bound to his good behaviour during life, fined 1000*l.* be set on the pillory at Westminster, and then branded on the forehead with the letter F; and after to be in like sort set on the pillory at Stafford[b].—— One Walker also, for libelling his neighbour, and accusing him of stealing of wool, was committed to the Fleet during life, fined 1000*l.* ordered to be set in the pillory twice, and at each time have an ear cut off, and to pay the plaintiff 500 marks damage[c]. Bowyer, for slandering Laud as an Arminian and a Papist, was ordered by the court to be committed to Bridewell, there to be kept to work during his life, and never suffered to go abroad, fined 3000*l.* to be set in the pillory twice, confess his offence, be burned in the forehead with the letters L and R, and have both his ears nailed thereto[d]." These persons probably deserved punishment; but surely the punishments inflicted on them was beyond their crimes, and savoured much of barbarity!

What follows will still farther shew the rigour with which even persons of high quality were treated in this court. Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the lord deputy Wentworth, dated London, Nov. 10, 1634, writes, "The lord Morley's business hath received an hearing in the Star-chamber this term: the charges against him were

[a] Rushworth, vol. III. Appendix, p. 34. [b] Id. p. 59. [c] Id. p. 60.
[d] Id. p. 65.

These censures created great disgusts, and occasioned bitter reflections on Charles's

these; that in court he should say to Sir George Theobalds, What a base rascal is this? I am no companion for such a base fellow, such a dunghill rogue as thou art; for challenging him to go out of the court, saying, Thou base rascal, I will cut thy throat; for punching him on the breast, and catching him by the throat with his hand: all which was done and said nigh to the chair of state in the room, where their majesties were entering. The lord Morley's counsel confesseth the charge, saying, it was done in a passion (they might have more truly said in a high fit of drunkenness), so submitted to the king's mercy. The attorney pursues him fiercely, shews his learning, and brings his precedents, all which I omit. The censure begins: my lord Cottington was not there: judge Jones began, and all concurred in one sentence, but the two last: ten thousand pounds to the king; one thousand to Sir George Theobalds. But the archbishop of Canterbury [Laud], and the lord privy seal, who sat that day in the absence of the lord keeper, fined him twenty thousand pounds, besides imprisonment in the Tower, where I leave him [a].—Much noise here is of the depopulators that are come into the Star-chamber: it will bring in great sums of money. Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Thomas Thynne are in already: the latter is spared this year from being sheriff in Wiltshire, because he may follow his cause. Sharp proceedings against such as live in town, and out of their countries, without leave: the lord Grey of Werk they fall first on, then my lord of Clare [b]." The same gentleman, in a letter to his lordship, written May 19th, 1635, tells him, "Some few censures passed here in the Star-chamber this term,

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. I. p. 335. [b] Id. p. 337.

government; and, if we may speak the truth, they were not without foundation.

two of them *ore tenus:* one Maxwell, a Scottishman, for a scandalous petition to the king against the lord keeper and the whole council, for which he was fined three thousand pounds; but is not worth much: also the keeper of Newgate, he is more able; and lastly, my lord Saville, who in the suit betwixt my lord Newcastle and himself, with his complices, was fined five thousand pounds, his part three thousand pounds. He went to the Fleet, and there lay till he gave security for the payment of his fine, such as it should be, when it was mitigated [a]."

In another letter, dated London, Feb. 7, 1637, we have the following passage. "A sentence in the Star-chamber this term hath demolished all the houses about Piccadilly; by Midsummer they must be pulled down, which have stood since the 13th of king James: they are found to be great nusances, and much foul the springs of water, which pass by those houses to Whitehall, and to the city [b]."

The city of London also, on pretence that she had imposed on king James, and had not performed the conditions on which Londonderry was granted her, was fined in the sum of seventy thousand pounds [c], and her plantation was taken from her. "This act," says Lilly, "so imbittered the spirits of the citizens, that although they were singularly invited for loan of moneys, and had as great plenty in their possessions as ever, yet would they not contribute any assistance or money against the Scots, or advance of his majesty in his Scotish expedition [d]."

I will add but one account more of the severity of

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. I. p. 426. [b] Id. vol. II. p. 150. [c] Id. p. 463, and Whitlock, p. 35. [d] Lilly, p. 46; Whitlock, p. 35.

While his majesty was carrying things with so high an hand in England, where law

this court, in the words of Whitlock. "The bishop of Lincoln was brought to a sentence in the Star-chamber, for disloyal words charged to be spoken by him against the king, and for suborning witnesses to conceal a truth, and to stifle a crime. He was at last fined ten thousand pounds, committed to the Tower during pleasure, suspended *ab officio & beneficio*, and referred to the high commission court, for that which concerned their jurisdiction. Mr. Osbaldston was also heavily sentenced in the Star-chamber upon the business of the bishop of Lincoln [fined five thousand pounds, deprived of his ecclesiastical preferments, his ears to be tacked to the pillory, and costs of suit to Laud]; but he got out of the way, leaving a paper in his study, with this inscription, That Lambert Osbaldston was gone beyond Canterbury.——These proceedings in the Star-chamber against these persons," continues this writer, "raised a deep distaste in the hearts of many people, which some expressed by their murmurings, and gave out Canterbury to be the author of them; more particularly against Lincoln upon private grudges, and emulation between these two prelates[a]." What wonder is it a deep distaste should be raised in the hearts of many at these proceedings, which were so rigorous, severe, and disproportioned to the crimes real or imputed? The punishments inflicted were barbarous and inhuman, and such as none but weak and cruel minds could suggest or countenance; the fines immoderate and excessive, and such as brought on beggary and ruin, and, for the most part, were in effect an imprisonment for life. In short, the proceed-

[a] Whitlock, p. 26.

was trampled under foot, and tyranny was openly erected [53], he attempted to intro-

ings of this court, in this reign, were arbitrary, tyrannical, and absolutely illegal. In the act for the regulating of the privy council, and for taking away the court commonly called the Star-chamber, it is declared, "That the judges of this court had undertaken to punish where no law doth warrant, and to make decrees for things having no such authority, and to inflict heavier punishments than by any law is warranted." And moreover it is asserted, "That the proceeding, censures, and decrees of that court have, by experience, been found to be an intolerable burthen to the subject, and the means to introduce an arbitrary power and government." This is the censure passed on it by the highest authority, which therefore, with the high commission, a court of a like infamous nature, were for ever abolished by acts of parliament[a], and it is to be hoped will never more be revived.

[53] In England law was trampled under foot, and tyranny openly erected.] That Charles acted without and contrary to law, no man, who attends to what is contained in the preceding notes, can pretend to deny; unless one, who is heir to the modesty of Bevil Higgons, who tells us, that "he granted the petition of right, and abridged his own legal authority, meerly to oblige his people, by such convincing testimonies of his bounty and goodness[b]." This is worthy of the writer, but is below the censure of any one who has a tolerable idea of the reign of this monarch. Charles, it appears manifestly, acted without, and against, law, and therefore must be deemed to have behaved tyran-

[a] Stat. 16 Car. c. x. sect. 11. [b] Higgons' Short View of the English Constitution, p. 267. 8vo. Hague, 1727.

duce innovations in the kingdom of Scot-

nically.—" Wherever law ends, tyranny begins, if the law be transgressed to another's harm. And whosoever in authority exceeds the power given him by the law, and makes use of the force he has under his command, to compass that upon the subject which the law allows not, ceases in that to be a magistrate; and acting without authority may be opposed, as any other man, who by force invades the right of another. This is acknowledged in subordinate magistrates. He that hath authority to seize my person in the street, may be opposed as a thief and a robber if he endeavours to break into my house to execute a writ, notwithstanding that I know he has such a warrant, and such a legal authority, as will impower him to arrest me abroad. And why this should not hold in the highest, as well as in the most inferiour magistrate, I would gladly be informed. Is it reasonable that the eldest brother, because he has the greatest part of his father's estate, should thereby have a right to take away any of his younger brothers portions? Or that a rich man, who possessed a whole country, should from thence have a right to seize, when he pleased, the cottage and garden of his poor neighbour? The being rightfully possessed of great power and riches, exceedingly beyond the greatest part of the sons of Adam, is so far from being an excuse, much less a reason, for rapine and oppression, which the endamaging another without authority is, that it is a great aggravation of it. For the exceeding the bounds of authority, is no more a right in a great than a petty officer, no more justifiable in a king than a constable: but it is so much the worse in him, in that he has more trust put in him, has already a much greater share than the rest of his brethren, and is supposed, from the advantages of his education, employment, and counsellors, to be more know-

land[54], and of such a kind too, as were

ing in the measures of right and wrong[a]." The reader will see the force of this reasoning, and apply it to its proper use.

[54] Charles attempted to introduce innovations in Scotland.] The affairs of Scotland, Charles had very much at heart. He was desirous of having that nation at his beck, and subjecting it, under him, to a priestly yoke. "And Laud," says lord Bolingbroke, "who had neither temper nor knowledge of the world, enough to be entrusted with the government of a private college, conducted this enterprize, and precipitated the public ruin[b]." The reformation of religion in Scotland was introduced by John Knox. The doctrines taught by him were of like kind with those contained in the articles of the church of England: the government and discipline different from what her canons enjoin. For Knox, after the manner of the foreign reformers, was an enemy to the pomp of prelacy, and an encourager of great severity of manners among clergy and people. This was agreeable to the taste of the Scotish nation, and accordingly his doctrine was received and adhered to with a zeal scarce conceivable. What tended much to gain a favourable reception to the tenets of Knox, was their utility to the state. For church-lands were deemed by him fit to be alienated, and tithes abolished, though he judged it but reasonable that the ministers of the church should have a decent maintenance from the public. The Scotch nobility were not backward to put in practice this wholesome doctrine, and thereby advanced their own estates, as well as the common good.—True it is, there was a hankering from the beginning among some of the ecclesiastics after that pomp, power, and riches which

[a] Locke of Government, p. 278. [b] Craftsman, vol. VII. p. 300.

deemed inconsistent with their laws, liber-

the zeal and industry of Knox had abolished; and therefore we soon find the names of archbishop and bishops in the history of that church, after the reformation. But their power was insignificant, their wealth small, and they had not the title of My Lord given them, as I can find; though perhaps they might have taken the appellation as kindly as the Danish superintendants.—However, even this pre-eminence did not last long; for presbyterian government was established in the church, by law, in the year 1592[a]: though afterwards, when James had mounted the English throne, by art and money he introduced again the name and some part of the power of bishops, to the great grief of the Scotish clergy. But what James had with trouble and expence done, no way satisfied Charles. He was determined to establish an uniformity of church-government throughout his kingdoms, and to let the clergy partake of a dominion to which they were too prone. In a kingdom poor, and abounding with nobility, he impoliticly was for erecting bishopricks and archbishopricks, and thereby hurting the community in a very sensible manner. For the wealth, which was necessary to support these, was wanting for the purposes of society, and would have turned to good account, had it been well employed.—In order to advance this project, Charles went down into Scotland, accompanied with Laud, in the year 1633, where he was crowned with great solemnity. "It was observed," says Rushworth, "that Dr. Laud, then bishop of London, was high in his carriage, taking upon him the order and managing of the ceremonies and coronation; and, for an instance, Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews, being placed at the king's right hand, and Lindsey,

[a] Bishop Guthry's Memoirs, p. 4.

ties, and religion. For he broke in on the

then archbishop of Glascow, at his left, bishop Laud took Glascow and thrust him from the king, with these words: 'Are you a churchman, and wants the coat of your order?' (which was an embroidered coat, and that he scrupled to wear, being a moderate churchman) and in place of him put in the bishop of Rosse at the king's left hand[a].—In the parliament held on this occasion, there was little or no difference, except in what related to two acts: the one entituled, an act anent his majestie's royal prerogative, and apparel of kirkmen. The other an act of ratification of the acts touching religion. As to the former of these acts, several noblemen and others were not pleased to have the apparel of kirkmen joined with the prerogative, suspecting the surplice to be intended; and the king being asked that question, made no answer. But this circumstance was observed of him, that he took a list of the whole members out of his pocket, and said, 'Gentlemen, I have all your names here; and I'll know who will do me service, and who will not, this day.' However, about thirteen noblemen, and as many barons and burgesses, declared, that they agreed to the act for his majestie's prerogative; but dissented from that part of it, as to the apparel of kirkmen[b]."

"Great opposition was made to this act by the earl of Rothes, who desired the acts might be divided: but the king said it was now one act, and he must either vote for it, or against it. He said he was for the prerogative as much as any man; but that addition was contrary to the liberties of the church, and he thought no determination ought to be made in such matters without the consent of the clergy, at least without their being heard. The king bid him argue no more,

[a] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 182. [b] Id. p. 183.

privileges of the Scotish parliament; caused

but give his vote: so he voted, not content. Some few lords offered to argue; but the king stopt them, and commanded them to vote. Almost the whole commons voted in the negative; so that the act, indeed, was rejected by the majority: which the king knew; for he had called for a list of the members, and with his own pen had marked every man's vote: yet the clerk of register, who gathers and declares the votes, said it was carried in the affirmative. The earl of Rothes affirmed it for the negative: but the king said, the clerk of register's declaration must be held good, unless the earl of Rothes would go to the bar, and accuse him of falsifying the record of parliament, which was capital: and in that case, if he should fail in the proof, he was liable to the same punishment; so he would not venture on that. Thus the act was published, though in truth it was rejected. The king expressed an high displeasure at all who had concurred in that opposition. Upon that, the lords had many meetings: they reckoned that now all their liberties were gone, and a parliament was but a piece of pageantry, if the clerk-register might declare as he pleased how the vote went, and that no scrutiny were allowed. Upon that Hague, the king's sollicitor, a zealous man of that party, drew a petition to be signed by the lords, and to be offered by them to the king, setting forth all their grievances, and praying redress. He shewed this to some of them, and among others to the lord Balmerinock, who liked the main of it; but was for altering it in some particulars. He spoke of it to the earl of Rothes, in the presence of the earl of Cassilis, and some others: none of them approved of it. The earl of Rothes carried it to the king, and told him, that there was a design to offer a petition, in

an unjust condemnation of one of its mem-

order to the explaining and justifying their proceedings, and that he had a copy to shew him: but the king would not look upon it, and ordered him to put a stop to it; for he would receive no such petition. The earl of Rothes told this to Balmerinock; so the thing was laid aside, only he kept a copy of it, and interlined it in some places with his own hand.—The winter after the king was in Scotland, Balmerinock was thinking how to make the petition more acceptable; and, in order to that, he shewed it to one Dunmoor, a lawyer, in whom he trusted, and desired his opinion of it, and suffered him to carry it home with him; but charged him to shew it to no person, and to take no copy of it. He shewed it, under a promise of secresy, to one Hay of Naughton, and told him from whom he had it. Hay, looking on the paper, and seeing it a matter of some consequence, carried it to Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's; who, apprehending it was going about for hands, was alarmed at it, and went immediately for London, beginning his journey, as he often did, on a Sunday, which was a very odious thing in that country.—An order hereupon was sent down for committing lord Balmerinock, who was tried on an old law, never put in force, and, by court artifices, condemned to lose his life, though he afterwards had a pardon[a]." We see here by what violences these innovations were made in the Scotish kirk, and how hard the government bore on the liberties and lives of that people. No wonder then they were so strongly prejudiced against it, and that the bishops it had created were held in abhorrence; especially as bishop Guthry tells us, that "none of

[a] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 183; Burnet, vol. I. p. 28, 34; Guthry's Memoirs, p. 9.

bers; attempted to restore church and

the bishops, whom king Charles preferred, were generally esteemed gifted for the office, except bishop Maxwell[a]." But ill qualified as these men were, "they carried themselves so loftily, that ministers seemed little in their reckoning[b]."——Let us hear bishop Burnet's account of their behaviour. "The bishops were cherished by Charles with all imaginable expressions of kindness and confidence; but they lost all their esteem with the people, and that upon divers accounts. The people of Scotland had drunk in a deep prejudice against every thing that savoured of popery. This the bishops judged was too high, and therefore took all means possible to lessen it, both in sermons and discourses, mollifying their opinions and commending their persons, not without some reflections on the reformers. But this was so far from gaining their design, that it abated nothing of the zeal against popery, but very much heightened the rage against themselves, as favouring it too much. There were also subtil questions started some years before in Holland, about predestination and grace; and Arminius' his opinion, as it was condemned in a synod at Dort, so was generally ill reported of in all reformed churches, and no where worse than in Scotland: but most of the bishops and their adherents undertook openly and zealously the defence of these tenets. Likewise the Scotish ministers and people had ever a great respect to the Lord's-day, and generally the morality of it is reckoned an article of faith among them: but the bishops not only undertook to beat down this opinion, but, by their practices, expressed their neglect of that day; and, after all this, they declared themselves

[a] Guthry's Memoirs, p. 14. [b] Id. p. 15.

abbey-lands; created a lordly race of pre-

avowed zealots for the liturgy and ceremonies of England, which were held by the zealous of Scotland, all one with popery. Upon these accounts it was, that they lost all their esteem with the people.

" Neither stood they in better terms with the nobility, who at that time were as considerable as ever Scotland saw them; and so proved more sensible of injuries, and more capable of resenting them. They were offended with them, because they seemed to have more interest with the king than they themselves had, so that favours were mainly distributed by their recommendation: they were also upon all affairs; nine of them were privy counsellours, divers of them were of the Exchequer: Spotiswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's, was made chancellor; and Maxwell, bishop of Ross, was fair for the Treasury, and engaged in a high rivalry with the earl of Traquair, then treasurer, which tended not a little to help forward their ruin. And besides this, they began to pretend highly to the tithes and impropriations, and had gotten one Learmouth, a minister, presented abbot of Lindoris; and seemed confident to get that state of abbots, with all the revenue and power belonging to it, again restored into the hands of churchmen; designing also, that, according to the first institution of the college of justice, the half of them should be churchmen. This could not but touch many of the nobility in the quick, who were too large sharers in the patrimony of the church, not to be very sensible of it.

" They were no less hateful to the ministry, because of their pride, which was cried out upon as unsupportable. Great complaints were also made of simoniacal pactions with their servants, which was imputed to their masters, as if it had been for their advantage,

lates, on whom he heaped secular honours

at least by their allowance. They also exacted a new oath of intrants (besides what was in the act of parliament for obedience to their ordinary), in which they were obliged to obey the articles of Perth, and submit to the liturgy and canons. They were also making daily inroads upon their jurisdiction, of which the ministers were very sensible; and universally their great rigour against any that savoured of puritanism, together with their meddling in all secular affairs, and relinquishing their dioceses to wait on the court and council, made them the objects of all men's fury [a]."—— And how could it otherwise be, where men preserved their reason, and had the least notion of the spirit of the gospel? Ambitious, tyrannical, persecuting bishops must be odious in the sight of God and man, and deserving the worst fate. Generally speaking, shame and contempt are their portion whilst in life; but after death, historians will draw them in their true colours, and hand them down to posterity with infamy; and it is well if they meet not with a worse treatment in another state.—But to return. "The king, at his coming to Scotland," says Guthry, "in the year 1633, had brought with him Dr. Laud, then bishop of London, shortly after archbishop of Canterbury; (one who had much power with his majesty, but was generally hated by the people.) He beholding our form of worship, did (in conference with our bishops, and others of the clergy) tax the nakedness thereof in divers respects, but chiefly for our want of a liturgy, whereby he thought all might be helped. The old bishops replied, that in king James's time there had a motion been made for it; but that the presenting thereof was deferred, in regard the articles of Perth,

[a] Memoirs of the duke of Hamilton, p. 29.

and preferments, who behaved unaccept-

then introduced, proved so unwelcome to the people, that they thought it not safe nor fit, at that time, to venture upon any further innovations; and they were not yet without some fear, that, if it should be gone about, the consequence thereof might be very sad. But bishop Maxwell, and with him Mr. Thomas Sydeserfe (who was then but a candidate), and Mr. Mitchel, and others, pressed hard that it might be, assuring that there was no kind of danger in it; whereupon bishop Laud (who spake as he would have it) moving the king to declare it to be his will, that there should be a liturgy in this church, his majesty commanded the bishops to go about the forming of it[a]." The bishops applied themselves to the work; but first of all, they presented a body of canons to precede the liturgy. These canons carried high the authority of princes in ecclesiastical affairs, and were calculated to promote the wealth and grandeur of the clergy. They moreover determined, "that no clergyman should conceive prayers *ex tempore;* but be bound to pray only by the form prescribed by the liturgy," which was not then seen or framed. These canons were, by proclamation from his majesty, duly to be observed, and the clergy to be sworn to submit to, and pay all obedience to what was enjoined by them[b]. We may be sure these things could not pass unnoticed: but the liturgy preparing was more dreadful to the people, who, throughout the land, clamoured "that religion was undermined by a conspiracy betwixt the bishop of Canterbury and other bishops, and that they (being suborned by him) were bringing in the mass-book."

[a] Guthry's Memoirs, p. 15. [b] See Crawford's Account of the Officers of the Crown of Scotland, p. 178, 179. Lond. fol. 1736. Clarendon, vol. I. p. 104—107.

ably to all orders and degrees of men; and, to complete all, attempted to introduce a liturgy, most odious in the sight of that nation. But Charles soon found that the

This clamour terrified some of the wisest among the bishops, who thereupon desired that the book might be kept back, till the nation were better prepared to receive it. But it was in vain; "for Laud procured for himself a warrant from the king, to command the bishops (upon all hazards) to go forward in it; threatning them withal, that if they lingered in it longer, the king would turn them out of their places, and fill the same with vigorous and resolute men, who would not be afraid to do him service." "Thereafter," says bishop Guthry, "it is remarkable, that the bishops acted so far contrary to those rules of prudence whereby they had been accustomed to manage their affairs, that all men began to espy a fatality in it. For they laboured not (as formerly they had done in lesser matters) to have their book brought in by an ecclesiastical sanction; but having gotten it authorized by an act of council, proceeded without more ado to urge the practice thereof: whereby they provoked against themselves the most part even of those ministers that were episcopal in their judgment, who thought it a very sad matter, that a liturgy should be imposed upon the church, without the knowledge and consent of the church; and judged it such a dangerous preparative, that thereby the civil power might in after-times introduce any thing (though never so hurtful to religion), and the church never get one voice in it: and they were the more offended, in regard king James, of blessed memory, had never pressed any thing that way; but whatsoever he would have done, he used to take a church-way in it. Neither did they at first

Scotch were not patient under oppressions, like the English. For upon reading the service-book in the church of Edinburgh, tumults arose[55], which, with great difficulty,

urge the practice of their liturgy upon the remotest dioceses, and other places, where there was the least averseness from such changes; but made the first essays where opposition was most probably to be expected[a]." Surely such conduct as this merited almost the fate it afterwards met with! Charles must have had strange notions of his own power, if he could have imagined himself able to force these things on the Scotish nation; and he must have been very ill read in their annals, if he thought they would patiently submit to it without compulsion. But however it was, his management in Scotland first brought him into difficulties, which he was ill qualified to encounter, and which nothing but his death put a period to.

[55] Upon reading the service-book at Edinburgh, tumults arose, &c.] On Easter day, 1637, the liturgy was appointed to be read for the first time in the cathedral church at Edinburgh: "but no sooner had the dean of Edinburgh appeared in his surplice, and began to read the liturgy, but a multitude of the meaner sort, most of them women, with clapping of hands, clamours and outcries, raised a hideous noise and confusion in the church, that no words could be heard distinctly; and then a shower of stones and sticks, and cudgels were thrown at the dean's head. The bishop of the place, Dr. Lindsay, who was to preach that day, stept into the pulpit, hoping to appease the tumult by minding them of the sacredness of the place, and of their duty to God and the king;

[a] Guthry's Memoirs, p. 17—19.

for the present were appeased. But they

but they were the more enraged, and an old woman ushered in the future war by throwing a stool at his head, which might have endangered his life: upon this the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the lord chancellor, from his seat, was obliged to call down from the gallery the provost and magistrates of the city, by their authority to suppress the riot; which, at last, with great difficulty they did, by thrusting the most unruly of those who made the disturbance out of the church, and shutting the doors. After which the dean proceeded in the service; but still was greatly disturbed by the loud clamours of the multitude without, who pelted the doors and windows with sticks and stones, and cried out, a pape! a pape! Antichrist! pull him down! stane him! with all the marks of ungovernable fury. Notwithstanding, the service was ended, but not the people's rage; for when the bishops went out of the church, the rabble followed them with all the opprobrious language they could invent, of bringing in superstition and popery into the kingdom, and making the people slaves: and were not content to use their tongues, but employed their hands too, in throwing dirt and stones at them; and treated Dr. Lindsay, the bishop of Edinburgh, whom they looked upon as most active that way, so rudely, that he got into a house, after they had torn his habit, and was from thence removed to his own with great hazard of his life. As this was the reception it had in the cathedral, so it fared not better in the other churches of the city, but was entertained with the same clamouring and outcries, and threatning the men, whose office it was to read it, with the same execrations against bishops and popery[a]." This tumult was soon

[a] Crawfurd's Lives, p. 181.

were soon renewed, (on Charles's ordering,

made known to the court, as well as the dissatisfaction which most men expressed against the service-book. But his majesty, "instead of discharging of it, as peaceable men expected and wished[a], caused a proclamation to be read at the market-cross, ordaining the service-book to be practised at Edinburgh, and other places adjacent; the council and sessions to remove from Edinburgh, first to Lithgoe, and afterwards to Stirling; and the nobility, gentry, burghers, ministers and commons, who were come to Edinburgh to petition against it in vast numbers, were ordered to depart towards their own homes, within twenty-four hours, under pain of horning[b]." The tumults were upon this again renewed, and the officers of state, bishops, and city-magistrates, were in great peril; but applying to the lords in the opposition, they were delivered. It would be useless to enter into a detail of these affairs, they being to be found in so many writers. Let it suffice to say, that though a proclamation was issued to repress these disorders, little obedience was given to it; that a petition from the noblemen, barons, burgesses, ministers, and commons, was sent to council-board against the liturgy and canons; that though his majesty was displeased hereat, and by proclamation forbad tumultuous resorts to Edinburgh, under the highest penalties; yet several of the nobility caused their protestation against it to be read; erected four tables, who were to prepare what was to be propounded at the general table; and that the first act of this general table was a renewing of the antient confession of faith of that kirk, and entering into a general covenant to preserve the religion there profest, and the king's person[c]. His majesty hearing of this, made

[a] Guthry, p. 24. [b] Id. p. 24. [c] Whitlock, p. 27.

by proclamation, the service-book to be

various propositions to reduce them to obedience; and was forced at last to consent that the canons, service-book, and high-commission, should be nulled; and that all persons whatsoever should be liable to censure of parliament and general assembly. But as his majesty offered not to abolish archbishops and bishops by law, no accommodation was to be made; but the disorders continued and increased. For Charles, as if his conduct had not procured him enemies enough in this kingdom, added another to them, of great power, viz. Archibald earl of Argyle. This we are informed of in a letter of the lord deputy Wentworth to Sir Henry Vane, treasurer of the houshold, dated Fair-wood-Park, Ap. 16, 1639. "It should seem to me, for I was not of the council, my lord marquis Hamilton, and my lord of Antrim, had to his majesty undertaken the business [of beating Argyle out of the western Isles] before the earl of Antrim's coming forth of England, consequently before Argyle was declared covenanter: my lord of Antrim was, for his reward, to have had a share of his estate: what other shares there were, any, or none, in truth I know not. Now, howbeit this was carried very secretly to us on this side, yet Argyle got knowledge of it there, and certainly occasioned him to declare himself sooner for the covenant, than otherwise perchance he would have done; but whether that had been better or worse for his majestie's service, I am not able to judge[a]." In short, things now were come to a head, and preparations for war were made of all sides; for the Scots were determined not to submit till they had satisfaction given them in their demands, and Charles was as determined to force them to a compliance with his will; and his two great ministers, Wentworth and Laud, were not

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 325.

continued) to the great peril of the chief

wanting to urge him on hereunto; for they could not bear the thought that his majesty's will should be resisted, especially by the Scots, whose power did not seem to them over-formidable. Let us hear them speaking to each other without reserve. The lord-deputy, in a letter to Laud, dated Dublin, Nov. 27, 1638, writes as follows: "It was ever clear in my judgment, that the business of Scotland, so well laid, so pleasing to God and man, had it been effected, was miserably lost in the execution, yet could never have so fatally miscarried, if there had not been a failure likewise in the direction, occasioned either by over-great desires to do all quietly without noise, by the state of the business misrepresented, by opportunities and seasons slipped, or by some such like. Besides, it sometimes falls out, that out of an easiness and sweetness of nature, some men insensibly suffer oppositions, which at first were easily brought to obedience, to grow and go on so far, as thereby to difficult their own affairs, and discourage their own party most extremely, which I have often observed in an hundred men. Nevertheless, in my opinion, that error would not be seconded with a far greater, which would be indeed more grievous, more terrible; for should these rude spirits carry it thus from the king's honour to their own churlish wills, it would have a most fearful operation, I fear, as well upon England as themselves; therefore God Almighty guide his majestie's counsels, and strengthen his courage: for if he master not them, and this affair tending so much and visibly to the tranquility and peace of his kingdoms, to the honour of Almighty God, I shall be to seek for any probable judgment what is like next to befall us at after[a]." To this Laud, in his letter of the 29th Dec. 1638, replied in these

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 250.

officers of state. Upon this, several expedients for peace proving fruitless, both sides made preparations for war. The king, de-

words: "Indeed, my lord, the business of Scotland, I can be bold to say without vanity, was well laid, and was a great service to the crown, as well as to God himself. And that it should so fatally fail in the execution, is a great blow as well to the power as the honour of the king. And your lordship is most right in saying there was a failure in the direction; for the truth is, there was too great a desire there to do all without noise, and there was undoubtedly a great misrepresentation of the business itself there; and some seasons and opportunities slipt, and that more than once, and the easy suffering of oppositions too common in an hundred men and more. But these three last by your lordship's leave, were all errors about the execution, not the direction: but the first of these mentioned by you, was indeed an error in the direction, and a great one; but I could not help it. For such of the bishops of Scotland as were trusted with it were all for the quiet way, and that fitting his majestie's disposition, I was not able to withstand it, and indeed must have been thought very bold, had I taken upon me to understand the course of that church and kingdom better than they. But the main failure in the direction, if I mistake not, was, that all the lords of that council were not more thoroughly dealt with by the king, and their judgments more thoroughly sifted, before any thing had been put to execution. And I am confident all had gone well enough, if Traquair had done his duty; but he thought he had all in a string, and, out of a desire to disgrace some bishops, did not only suffer, but certainly underhand do some things, which let all loose, and quite out of their imagined power to

termined to bring the Scots to a compliance, advanced with a good army towards the borders of their kingdom; and they,

recall. And this was the greatest barre of the business which I have been able to observe, next to the overmuch confidence which the king would still put in him, notwithstanding some bishops still informed how false and unworthy his carriage was. And for that which follows, I wholly agree with you, that since it is come to this height, if his majesty do not master them, and bring them under obedience, the first error will be so far seconded with a greater, as that the consequences may be God knows what; such, I am sure, as I hold not fit to prognosticate[a]." These passages clearly shew the genius of their writers, and the opinion they entertained of the northern commotions. But as much as they were for using force against the Scots, in order to make them say their prayers by book, and submit to the wholesome rule of the bishops, if we may believe my lord Northumberland, Charles was but in an ordinary condition to accomplish it. For in a letter to the lord deputy Wentworth, dated London, Jan. 2, 1638, we have the following expressions: "The nominating of the commanders, and the directions that have been given for the ordering and disposing of the martial preparations, have here made a very great noise. But I assure your lordship, to my understanding (with sorrow I speak it), we are altogether in as ill a posture to invade others, or to defend ourselves, as we were a twelvemonth since, which is more than any man can imagine, that is not an eye-witness of it. The discontents here at home do rather increase than lessen, there being no course taken to give any kind of satisfaction.

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 264.

equally determined not to yield, raised forces to meet him. But no bloodshed ensued: a pacification was made, little to

The king's coffers were never emptier than at this time, and to us that have the honour to be near about him, no way is yet known how he will find means either to maintain or begin a war, without the help of his people. Several offers have been made his majesty by particular men, to raise both horse and foot at their own charge, and to bring them to the rendezvous that the king shall appoint; but they are not persons to be relied upon; or grant the king could be certain of them, yet their number is so small, that it makes them inconsiderable. In a word, I fear the ways we run will not prevent the mischiefs that threaten us[a]."—In another letter of the 29th of the same month, he again writes to the lord deputy in these words: "The military preparations that are here intended do make a great noise, but advance slowly: I have had the honour to be present at many debates for the ordering this work, where I find so much want of experience in those who manage this business, and such regards to private ends, that I have little hope to see any design prosper that may tend to the publick good, honour, or safety of this land. Upon the king's declaration of his purpose to be at York before Easter, it was thought fit that his majesty should be attended with an army, consisting of twenty-four thousand foot and six thousand horse. All the foot, and half the proportion of horse, are to be raised out of the trained bands; but not any of them to be taken out of the northern counties: eight or ten of those shires are to be exempted from these levies, and are to be reserved for a second supply, if

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 267.

the honour of his majesty, which caused the dissolution of both armies.

However peace was of a very short con-

there shall be occasion. Where the money for the maintaining of these troops will be had, is yet known to very few. My lord of Essex is removed from being general of the horse, to be lieutenant-general of the army, and Holland succeeds him in the charge of the horse: with this change Essex is not at all pleased, and the marshal [earl of Arundel] is so much unsatisfied, as it is thought he will absolutely quit his command. This alteration is said to be wrought by the queen, and that Hamilton hath much assisted in it, whose credit and power with the king is thought to be much increased since his late employments into Scotland; which I doubt will be of some disadvantage to his majestie's affairs at this time, when the world shall take notice, that the means how to secure this state from the Scots invasion, is chiefly consulted with one of that nation[a]."

The money needful for paying the forces, and a fleet which his majesty equipped on this occasion, was raised out of his majesty's exchequer, and by the contributions of the clergy, the gentlemen of Doctors'-Commons, the English Roman catholics, and others. The Scots, on notice of these preparations, took care to secure the most important fortresses in that kingdom, to raise forces, to get good officers of their own nation from abroad, with arms and ammunition.

In March 1639, the king went towards the North, to put himself at the head of his army, which marched towards the borders of Scotland. The covenanters, with general Lesly at their head, soon drew near him;

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 276.

tinuance; for Charles and the covenanters

and after looking at each other for some time, the Scots petitioned for a treaty, which ended in a pacification on the 18th of June. The chief articles agreed on were, "That as the king would not own their assembly at Glasgoe [by which all the bishops stood excommunicated], so neither should the Scots be obliged to disown it. That there should be a full and free assembly holden at Edinburgh upon August the 12th, and a parliament August 26. That in the mean time both the armies should disband, all captive prisoners and places be restored to the owners, and mutual assurances from all damages. This was signed by the king, and his general and council; and the next day his general and the earl of Holland went to Lesly's head-quarters, to see it signed by him and his council of war. On the 20th both the Scotish and English armies disbanded, and retired peaceably homeward [a]."

Thus, for the present, ended these troubles, weakly excited in the beginning, wrongly managed when broke out, and poorly, for his majesty's reputation, concluded. For with the force he had, allowed by all greatly superior to the Scots, to make such an end of the business, as in effect condemned his own actions, and justified the covenanters, was enough to make all men conclude, that he was deficient either in wisdom or courage. However, in excuse hereof, it must be owned, that the English cared not to fight against the Scots in this quarrel; that they were loth that they should be subdued, lest the yoke should be rivetted on their own necks; that the English commanders inclined towards their adversaries, and were solicitous for peace.

Let princes from hence be admonished to beware

[a] Guthry, p. 50.

placing no confidence in each other[56], did

how they take part in the squabbles of ecclesiastics, or adopt their plans. Had Charles let things alone, the Scots would have given him no trouble. But, excited by Laud, he would make them change their religious rites for those he better approved: little considering that people are strongly attached to these, and more hardly induced to part with them, than the clear and indisputable commands of their Maker. By this conduct he involved himself in troubles, of which we have now seen the beginning; but which he might easily have avoided, if he had possessed more knowledge and less zeal. The still more fatal consequences will be soon seen.

[56] Charles and the covenanters placed no confidence in each other, &c.] The treaty of pacification was made June 18, 1639: "A treaty which no two who were present," says lord Clarendon, "agreed in the same relation of what was said and done; and which was worse, not in the same interpretation of the meaning of what was comprehended in writing[a]." No wonder then, it should be liable to misconstructions, misinterpretations, and different senses, the consequences of which, it was easy to foresee, would be a renewal of the troubles. His majesty in his letter to Wentworth, dated Berwick, June 22, 1639, four days after the pacification was made, has the following words: "There is a Scotish proverb, that bids you put two locks on your door, when you have made friends with a foe: so now, upon this pacification, I bid you to have a most careful eye upon the north of Ireland. Not that I think this caution is needful in respect of you, but to let you see I have a care of that kingdom, though I have too much trouble with these[b]." In an-

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 123. [b] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 361.

things which excited fears and jealousies mutually, which soon renewed the war.—

other letter of the 30th of the same month, from the same place, he tells him his opinion of his affairs. "As to my affairs here, I am far from thinking, that at this time I shall get half of my will, though I mean, by the grace of God, to be in person both at the assembly and in parliament; for which I know many wise men blame me, and it may be you among the rest: and, I confess, not without many and considerable arguments, which I have neither time to repeat nor confute; only this believe me, nothing but my presence at this time in that country can save it from irreparable confusion: yet I will not be so vain, as absolutely to say that I can. Wherefore my conclusion is, that if I see a great probability, I go; otherwise not, but return to London, or take other counsels[a]." The lord deputy, in his answer of the 3d of July following, beseeches his majesty not only to keep the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle strong, and well provided of all kind of stores, but to perfect the fortifications of Leith; and, if possible, put in a good power there also of men, approved for their faith, and zeal for the service of the crown. "For so total a defection," adds he, "as hath appeared in that people, is not to be trusted with your sacred person over-early, if at all; and this the rather, for that I conceive your designs and royal purposes thus sustained, will have also an excellent furtherance, and operation amongst your subjects in England[b]." It appears, I think, pretty plainly from these passages, that Charles did not intend to deal sincerely by the Scots. All things, by the pacification, were to be referred to the assembly and parliament: thither his majesty determined to go, as

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 362. [b] Id.

At first, indeed, things seemed to tend to a settlement. For episcopacy was abolished,

thinking by his presence and influence to have got episcopacy established, and the ecclesiastical canons received; for this is what I suppose he means by saying, that nothing but his presence could save Scotland from irreparable confusion: if he found this was not to be done, he would return to London, or take other counsels. What these counsels were, the lord deputy's letter gives us room to guess: the event confirms it. ——But how secret soever Charles's counsels were, it is not improbable the Scots understood them; and therefore they, on their part, acted so as to secure themselves against them.—Mr. Butler, in a letter to Wentworth, dated Ellerton, July 3d, 1639, writes, "I suppose your lordship hath long ere this heard of an accord betwixt the king and his majestie's subjects of Scotland, and have seen the conditions. By their writing they pretend fair, and by their words pretend as much subjection and loyalty to the king as can be wished; but I pray God, when it comes to the performance, they make it good. I hear, at this instant, they begin to make a very large (and, no doubt, a very false) interpretation of that article for disbanding both their armies. They will needs have this extend to Berwick and Newcastle, and so have no garrisons kept there; a thing not spoken of before our men and arms were sent home, and the like in other things. 'Tis true, they do restore unto his majesty those forts and castles they had taken in Scotland: but, if it be as I hear, they might as well keep them still; for they suffer the king to put into those places but what number of men they think good; and this in the common acceptation, is accounted but juggling, to make good their words only, neglecting the sense and substance of them. The king is still at Berwick, and tho' coach-

the canons and liturgy were laid aside, the high commission was declared to have no power, and the articles of Perth were no

have been laid these four or five days by command, to carry his majesty southward, yet now for certain, I hear he intends to see Edinburgh before his return to London. My lord of Holland came by within these two days. Most of the lords and gentlemen had taken leave ten days ago; and, I dare say, they need not be bidden to make haste home, after once they had their dispatch: I did not think so gentle a potion could have wrought so strongly as I see it did with many of them. The king's officers are sent for back again: the number with his majesty now at Berwick, I hear, is very small: counsellors, only my lord Marshall, Sir Henry Vane, and Mr. Secretary Coke. My lord, I will discourse no longer of this subject; I wish we were not over-witted by these smooth-tongued men. It was my fortune to be at the camp at two of their days of meeting, and afterwards heard a free liberal discourse of all passages by some of the commissioners of both sides; and, to my understanding, methought we still gave too much belief to their large promises. I was bold to say to some of them, I would fain see something done, that might testify them the same they had professed[a]." Lord Wentworth, who seems not to have loved the Scots, and who knew himself mortally hated by them, in a letter to the king, dated Dublin Castle, 22 July, 1639, expresses himself as follows: "Of your majestie's resolution to go in person into Scotland, I shall not presume to deliver my opinion; yet I humbly crave leave to beseech your majesty to apply your own excellent rule there also, which is, neither to believe or

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 364.

more to be subscribed. Traquair, his majesty's high commissioner, gave his assent to these things, in his name, though against

expect farther than you see; and against all events not only to secure your return, but by your providence to foresee and prevent the being constrained upon the place to comply with any thing which may in the least press too hard upon your honour, or embolden either those or other your subjects in the future; these three principles being, in my weak judgment, to be granted:

"That it was the knowledge the covenanters had of their own weakness, not their better affections, that inclined them to seek an accommodation.

"That nothing is to be yielded there, which, by way of precedent, may encourage those of England to protest, or contest your royal commands, or the laws already established.

"That England and Ireland ministering to your sovereignty, as I am most confident, if rightly handled, they will, there is abundantly in your power suddenly and safely to conform the other to your will, in all just things."—He adds: "I should humbly crave this letter were burnt, not out of any aspect towards myself, but much rather in regard I know not what consequences it might produce, in case the faction find that any such considerations have been humbly presented to your majestie's wisdom [a]." The day before the date of this letter, his majesty had written to the lord deputy, from Berwick, to come over to him for some time, to give him his counsel and attendance, for reasons which he thought not fit to express by letter. "More than this," adds he, "the Scots covenant begins to spread too far: yet for all this, I will not have you

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 372.

his inclinations. But the parliament being disposed by its authority to confirm what the assembly had done, and likewise to se-

take notice that I have sent for you; but pretend some other occasion of business[a]."

Whilst Charles was in this disposition of mind, he gave instructions to the earl of Traquair, whom he appointed his high commissioner in Scotland. These instructions shew that Charles was full of tricks and evasions, and very far from that openness and honesty on which security alone can be founded. He allows him to consent to the abolishing of episcopacy; but bids him "be careful that it be done without the appearing of any warrant from the bishops; and if any, says he, offer to appear for them, you are to enquire for their warrant; and carry the dispute so, as the conclusion seem not to be made in prejudice of episcopacy as unlawful, but only in satisfaction to the people for settling the present disorders, and such other reasons of state." And in the conclusion he orders him to protest, "That in respect of his majestie's resolution of not coming in person, and that his instructions were upon short advertisement, whereupon many things might have occurred, in which he had not his majestie's pleasure; and for such other reasons as occasion might furnish, he was to protest, that in case any thing had escaped him, or had been condescended upon in the assembly, prejudicial to his majestie's service, that his majesty might be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place[b]." These instructions are dated Berwick, July 27, 1639. And in his further instructions to Traquair, he assures him, he will not alter any thing

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 302.
[b] Rushworth, vol. III. p. 949.

cure for the future the civil and religious rights of their nation, was prorogued to the next year. This caused great uneasiness,

in his instructions about episcopacy; that though he is content to discharge the service-book, the book of canons, the high commission, and the five articles of Perth; yet he will never give his assent that they be condemned as popish and superstitious, as illegal and contrary to the confession of faith. With regard to subscribing the covenant of 1580, "you," says his majesty, "must have an especial care of, that the bond be the same that was in our father's time, *mutatis mutandis;* and that you give your assent no other ways to the interpretations thereof, than may stand with our future intentions, well known to you; nor is the same otherwise to be ratified in parliament." After this his majesty tells him, if things could not thus pass, he should prorogue the parliament to the next spring. But by what follows it is plain Charles had no expectations of success in the assembly or parliament, but that his designs were on the renewal of the war. "And because," says he, "it is not improbable that this way [of proroguing the parliament] may produce a present rupture, you are to warn and assist Ruthven for the defence of the castle of Edinburgh; and to take in general the like care of all our houses and forts in that kingdom; and likewise to advertise all such as are affected to our service, that timeously they may secure themselves."

The day after the date of these instructions the king took post at Berwick, and arrived at London the 1st of August.

Charles being thus returned, the assembly met at Edinburgh, and passed several acts, whereby all that had been doing for years was abolished, with the consent of Traquair, and the covenant ordered to be sub-

and was followed by such actions as were displeasing to Charles, and furnished him with a pretence for renewing the war. In

scribed by all ranks and degrees. The parliament of Scotland also met, and were equally zealous in securing their civil, as the assembly had been with regard to their religious privileges. Let us hear lord Northumberland's representation of their behaviour. In a letter to lord Leicester, dated London, Oct. 17, 1639, he writes, "The lord deputy [Wentworth] is called in to consult of the Scotch affairs, with the archbishop and Hamilton. The insolencies and disorders of that nation are greater than ever they were. They will now admit of no third estate in parliament, but of the gentrie: lords of the articles they will not allow of, nor will they suffer the king to make any officers of state, or judge, but of such as they shall nominate. When one of these places are voyde, they will present three names to the king, out of which he is to chuse one. If the king refuse these demands, and go about to break their parliament, I hear they are resolved to sit without his majestie's leave. I doe much apprehend the difficulty of finding means to maister these great affaires[a]." However the king, displeased with what was done, and apprehensive that nothing better was to be hoped for, ordered Traquair to prorogue the parliament to the next year. This he did; but the Scots declared it was against their privileges, though, out of regard to his majesty, they complied with it. What followed is comprised in lord Northumberland's letter to lord Leicester, dated London, Nov. 28, 1639. "The Scots have submitted to the king's adjournment of their parliament; but with such a protestation, or

[a] Sydney's Papers, vol. II. p. 614.

the mean while the Scots were admitted to send deputies to London, to justify their conduct. But what happened to the earl

declaration, as his majesty is not satisfied. The officers of their army they still continue together at Edinburgh, and likewise keep up their several tables, where they often meete, and hold consultations for the ordering their affaires, which shews they have no disposition to obedience, except the king purchase their good-wills at too deare a rate. Traquair came to this towne last night: what he brings more than these generals, I know not; but certain I am, that some of the principal directors in these Scotch businesses think he hath much disserved his majesty in this last assembly and parliament[a]." Upon Traquair's arrival, he gave an account to the council of what had passed in Scotland, who thereupon unanimously agreed, that it was necessary to reduce the Scots by force; and accordingly was resolved on. Thus Charles accomplished what he seemed to have been bent on from the treaty of pacification, the renewal of the war, which his friends thought he had very meanly and ignominiously ended, and by which, it is said, he discerned he had lost reputation at home and abroad[b]. But it must be confessed, this renewal of it, in his circumstances, was still weaker, if possible, than what he had before done in these affairs. It had little foundation in justice or prudence, seeing it proceeded from resentment of the behaviour of the Scotish assembly and parliament, to which he had consented all things civil and ecclesiastical should be referred; and also from a desire to make that people submit to the use of words, the sound of which were harsh in their ears, and to a government

[a] Sydney's Papers, vol. II. p. 630. [b] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 105.

of Loudon, one of them, did not tend much to terminate the differences[57]: for he was

in the church, which appeared in their eyes odious and abominable. It is true, he had outwardly consented to the abolishing of those things which appeared grievous unto them: but his heart was set on the restoring them at the same time; for he assured the Scotish bishops, after the abovementioned instructions were given to Traquair, "That it should be one of his chiefest studies how to rectify and establish the government of that church aright, and to repair their losses[a]." In order to do this was the train laid, in the manner now mentioned, for renewing the war, which could not be of the least consequence to the English, at whose expence it was to be waged, and which little contributed to Charles's own reputation.

[57] What happened to the earl of Loudon—did not tend much to terminate the differences.] After the prorogation of the Scotish parliament, it was resolved to "make remonstrances to his majesty, and that some of each state should remain at Edinburgh to attend his answer. Accordingly they sent the lord Loudon and another peer as their deputies to the king at Whitehall; but they coming without warrant from his majestie's commissioner, were commanded back without audience. After this, they sent another petition to his majesty, desiring permission to send some of their number for their own vindication; which his majesty granting, the lords Loudon and Dumferling were again sent up, who being commanded to attend a committee at an appointed time, resented the thing, and did not think themselves obliged to treat with any but the king only. Upon which his majesty vouchsafed his presence in the said committee, where the lord Lou-

[a] Rushworth, vol. III. p. 951.

sent to the Tower by the king, and very narrowly escaped with his life. However,

don made a speech, declaring the independency of the crown of Scotland; and justified the transactions of the assembly and parliament, that they were according to the articles of pacification, and laws and customs of the nation: therefore they desired a ratification of their proceedings, and that the parliament might go on to determine of all bills for the settlement of peace. Having finished his speech, their commission was examined by the council, and found not at all obligatory to those that sent them: yet an imperfect paper was produced, authorizing Loudon and Dumferling, which was at length accepted. Yet they were soon checked; for after they had insisted upon their foresaid requests, their proceedings were summed up to them, and a letter produced by the king, that had been intercepted, wrote to the French king, indorsed *Au Roy*, a stile only used by subjects to their natural king, and subscribed by the lords Rothes, Montrose, Mar, Loudon, and Forrester; in which they addressed to his majesty, as the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, most humbly beseeching him to give faith and credit to Mr. Colvil, whom they had sent to represent the candour and ingenuity of their proceedings, and to assure themselves of an assistance suited to his wonted clemency. This was found to be the lord Loudon's own hand, who being examined upon it, refused to give any other answer, than that it was wrote before the agreement, and thereupon reserved and never sent: that if he had committed any offence, he ought to be questioned for it in Scotland, and not in England: and insisting upon his safe-conduct, demanded his liberty to return [a]." But, notwithstanding all this, Loudon was

[a] Crawfurd's Lives, p. 201.

after some time, he was released, and returned into Scotland. But the thoughts of war were not laid aside. His majesty chose

committed to the Tower. "This was highly resented by the Scotish lords, as a violation of the law of nations, to meddle with any public messenger; but the king judged no consideration could warrant his subjects to commit treason, nor secure them from trial and censure, when found guilty. There were some ill instruments about the king, who advised him to proceed capitally against Loudon, which is believed went very far; but the marquis [of Hamilton] opposed this vigorously, assuring the king, that if that were done, Scotland was for ever lost[a]."——How far the advices of these ill instruments proceeded, Burnet thought it not safe at that time to say plainly; but the particulars of it will appear from a memorandum, "written by Dr. White Kennet, then bishop of Peterborough, in the blank leaf of his copy of these memoirs, now in the possession of the Hon. Mr. Charles Yorke of Lincoln's-Inn.

"Mem. On Thursday Feb. 5, 1718-19, Mr. Frazier, late secretary of Chelsea-college, paid me a visit, with John Chamberlayne, Esq; and upon a discourse of Scotland, &c. told us this story, with very great assurance of the truth of it: That soon after the publication of this book [Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton], he was in the company of several English peers, when the author, Mr. Burnet, was then present. One of the noble peers charged him with having left out several things, for fear of offending the court. Why, yes, said Mr. Burnet, I could not put down every thing I found in the papers committed to me, because some things would not bear telling. The lord replied,

[a] Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 161.

a select number of his council to consult about the Scotish affairs. Of these Straffordc, Hamilton, and Laud, were most in

Truth should be told. Yes, said Mr. Burnet; but if this be truth, what do you think of its being fit to be told?

"While the earl of Loudon lay prisoner in the Tower, king Charles I. in his passionate resentments against him, sent a warrant to Sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, to execute the prisoner for high treason the next morning. The lieutenant acquainted the earl of Loudon with the warrant he had received, and desired his opinion how to avoid the execution of it. The earl of Loudon, after a grievous complaint that he had been very unjustly committed to that prison, and was to have his life barbarously taken away, earnestly desired Balfour to go to the marquiss of Hamilton, and beg his advice and good offices in it. He went accordingly to court that evening, to find out the marquiss; but could not light upon him, till his majesty was gone to bed. The marquiss and the lieutenant came back to the chamber-door, and were much surprised to hear that the king was in bed. After some waiting and fretting, one told Sir William Balfour, that, as lieutenant of the Tower, he had a privilege to knock at the king's chamber-door at any hour of the night, and so have admission to his majesty. Upon which encouragement, he did knock till he was heard by the groom of the bed-chamber, who asked, who was there? Balfour answered, the lieutenant of the Tower upon business with the king. The king bade him let him in. He came, and fell on his knees at the bedside, and begged to know whether the warrant for the execution of Loudon was legally obtained from his majesty, and whether he could legally

credit with the king, and their advice chiefly relied on. The war was by them deemed necessary, as well as by Charles,

proceed in the execution of it? using some arguments and entreaties for the recalling, at least the suspending, of it. No, says the king, the warrant is mine, and you shall obey it. Upon which the marquiss of Hamilton, who had stood at the door, stept up, and fell likewise on his knees before the king, and begged, that he would not insist upon such an extraordinary resolution. The king seemed very peremptory in it; till the marquiss, in a way of taking leave, said to this effect: Well then, if your majesty be so determined, I'll go, and get ready to ride post for Scotland to-morrow morning; for I am sure, before night, the whole city will be in an uproar, and they'll come and pull your majesty out of your palace. I'll get as far as I can, and declare to my countrymen, that I had no hand in it. The king was struck at this, and bid the marquiss call the lieutenant again; who coming back to the bedside, the king said, Give me the warrant; and taking it, tore it in pieces.

"Is this story now, said Mr. Burnet, fit to be told? All the company stood amazed, and held up their hands. Hearing this story, says Mr. Frazier, with mine own ears, I once related it to the late duke of Hamilton, who was killed in a duel; and his grace said, that he had often run over the papers, from which Dr. Burnet drew out his materials for this book, and he had them now in his custody in Scotland; and he well remembered, that there was such a relation there given, and that he verily believed it to be true[a]." This memorandum I have given at large, that the

[a] Appendix to the Enquiry into Glamorgan's Transactions, p. 15.

who, after debate concerning the means of supporting it, concluded at length on calling a parliament[58], which accordingly was

reader may perceive the evidence on which the relation stands, and judge of it accordingly. The same fact is to be found in other writers (though Mr. Hume has thought proper wholly to overlook it), as may be seen in the margin[a]. What must every impartial person now think of Charles? Where is his boasted justice, clemency, or mercy? Where his regard to the laws of nations, the laws of England, of which he averred his great knowledge on his trial, or the common rights of humanity? Or where was even the policy of such a cruel inhuman resolution? To order a nobleman, sent by another kingdom to transact affairs, to be put to death without form of law, or judgment given by those who alone could have power to pass it, on a pretence most frivolous, was little worthy of a man who pretended conscience on all occasions, and set himself up for the patron of religion. We may well suppose this action did not tend to conciliate the affections of the Scotish nation to his person and government.

[58] Concluded at length on calling a parliament.] Lord Northumberland, in a letter to the earl of Leicester, dated London, Decemb. 12, 1639, speaking concerning the committee for Scotish affairs, of which he was a member, tells him, "This committee hath lately had several meetings, to consider by what means the rebellious Scots should be brought to obedience; for all agreed, that it was unfit for the king to condescend to their unreasonable demands. Two ways were only thought on, for the rayseing of monyes, by the ordi-

[a] Crawfurd's Lives, p. 201. Ludlow no Liar, p. 40. 4to. Lond. 1692; Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. I. p. 140.

assembled, but was of short duration: for his majesty insisting on large supplies, be-

narie way of parlament, or by extraordinarie wayes of power: the charge requisite for this work (to mentaine an army of 30m. foote and 5m. horse) was computed at a million of pounds a yeare. To perswade a parlament to furnish the king presently with so much, was conceaved a very unlikely thing. The king's revenew, upon examination, appeared to be so anticipated, as little could be hoped for from thence; laying excises, injoining each countie to mentaine a certaine number of men whilst the warre lasted, and such like ways, were by some far prest; but met with so many weightie objections, that those lords, that were all this while most averse to parlaments, did now begin to advise the king's makeing triall of his people in parliament, before he used any way of power. This being advised by their lordships (who, to say truth, found themselves so pusseld, that they knew not where to begin), the king was soon gained, and resolved, the next council-day, to propose it to the rest of the lords, which accordingly was done; and though it came very unexpectedly to them, yet it passed without opposition. The day appointed for the meeting of parliament is the 13th of April next: a parliament in Ireland must precede ours; and without the deputy be here, some are of opinion, the king's affairs cannot prosper. If, in the meane tyme, the Scotts will not rest satisfied with what the king did last yeare promisse them, by his articles of pacification, fyre and sworde shall come amongst them. Such incendiaries are here amongst us, that, to speake freely to your lordship, I do not see how we shall possibly avoid falling into great misfortunes. Before the king can have any supply from the parlament, it is conceaved that he will have greate

fore any of their numerous grievances were redressed; and they not immediately grant-

occasion for the imploying a good summe of money for the strengthening his northerne garrisons, and securing those parts with some troupes, both of horse and foote. His own credite not serving for the taking up of these moneys, his majestie is forced to engage his councell: some of them undertake the furnishing 10, some 20 thousand pounds. The deputy is presently returning into Ireland, with a commission to be liftenant of that kingdom[a]."

In the Lent following, Wentworth, now made earl of Strafforde, and lord lieutenant, returned into Ireland, where he staid about a fortnight; "in which time he sat in parliament, had four subsidies given there; appointed a council of war, and gave orders to levy eight thousand foot in Ireland; which, together with two thousand foot and a thousand horse, which was the standing army in Ireland, and five hundred horse to be joined with them, were to be sent into Scotland, under his lordship's command[b]." His own letters will best represent the hopes he gave Charles, and the confidence with which he inspired him. "In a few words," says he, in his letter to the king, dated Dublin, Good-Friday morning, 1640, "Sir, your person and authority here is infinitely honoured and reverenced: this people, abundantly comforted and satisfied in your justice, set with exceeding great alacrity to serve the crown the right way in these doubtful times, and much trusting and believing us your majesty's poor ministers; all this in as high a measure as your own princely heart can wish. And if all this be not literally true, let the shame be mine, so wretchedly to have misinformed

[a] Sydney's Papers, vol. II. p. 623. [b] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 431.

ing his demand, but deliberating thereon, he in great haste dissolved them: to the dissatisfaction of his friends and the joy of

your majesty[a]." And in a letter to secretary Windebank, dated Ap. 4th, of the same year, being on board the pinnace for his return to England, he has the same kind of expressions. "I have left that people as fully satisfied, and as well affected to his majesty's person and service, as can possibly be wished for, notwithstanding the philosophy of some amongst you there in the court, who must needs have it believed, true or false, that that people are infinitely distasted with the present government, and hating of me; which error I can very easily remit unto them, considering that thereby the truth will be more clearly understood unto all, and in conclusion the shame fall upon themselves. I have also used all possible diligence in setting on the levies, and making all other provisions incident for the transportation of the eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, and ready they will be, I trust, by the midst of July, always provided that the conditions, mentioned in my former letters, be complied withall. And this I am able to assure his majesty, that I find that people as forward to venture their persons, as they have been to open their purses, and inlarge their engagements towards the instant occasion, infinitely disdaining his majesty should be so insolently proceeded with, and unworthily provoked by those covenanters: to which I will only add thus much (if truth may be spoken without offence to such as would have it thought to be otherwise), that not only the standing officers and soldiers of that army, but the Irishry themselves also will

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 402.

his adversaries. Whereupon, being still bent on carrying on the war, he had recourse to his usual methods of supplying

go (to speak modestly) as willingly and gladly, under my command, as of any other English subject whatsoever[a]." No doubt Charles was pleased with Strafforde's success in Ireland, and animated by these positive assurances of the affection and assistance to be relied on, though the event plainly shewed that the lord lieutenant was imposed on himself, or deceived his majesty, who had a very high opinion of his abilities.

The parliament of England met on the 13th day of April, 1640; and his majesty assured them, that "there never was a king that had a more great and weighty cause to call his people together, than himself."—The lord keeper was referred to by him for the particulars. It is well known this parliament was soon dissolved. Charles wanted supplies for his Scotish expedition; the house of commons insisted on a redress of their manifold grievances. He being not then disposed to grant the one, they were as little disposed to give him the other; though they are represented as men well attached to the crown both by lord Clarendon[b], and other historians.——The behaviour of Charles towards this parliament, Bolingbroke has well represented in the words following: "That the civil war, which followed, might have been prevented, appeared very manifestly in the temper and proceedings of the parliament, which met in April 1640, when all had been done, which could be done, to destroy the constitution; for if the king had been able to continue to govern without parliaments, the constitution had been

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 403. [b] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 133, &c.

himself by the prerogative. No sooner was

destroyed: and when calling a parliament was visibly the effect of necessity and fear, not choice, the parliament, which was called, shewed wonderful order and sobriety in their whole behaviour. If some passion had appeared in their debates, it might have been well excused in an house of commons, assembled at such a time: and yet scarce an angry word was thrown out. The few, that escaped from some, were either silently disliked, or openly disapproved. The king, even in this crisis of affairs, preserved the same carriage he had formerly used towards them, and shewed too plainly that he regarded them only as tax-layers. In a word, in about a month after their meeting, he dissolved them; and as soon as he had dissolved them, he repented, but he repented too late, of his rashness. Well might he repent; for the vessel was now full, and this last drop made the waters of bitterness overflow[a]." A message to the house of commons by Sir Henry Vane the elder, secretary of state and treasurer of the houshold, on the 4th of May, will best explain this carriage, which his lordship refers to it. It is in the following words.—" Whereas, upon Saturday last, his majesty was pleased to send a message to this house, desiring you to give a present answer concerning his supply; to which his majesty hath yet no other answer, but that upon this day you will again take it into further consideration: therefore his majesty (the better to facilitate your resolutions) this day hath thought fit to let you know, that of his grace and favour he is pleased, upon your granting twelve subsidies to be presently passed, and to be paid in three years, with a proviso, that it shall not determine the

[a] Craftsman, vol. VII. p. 394.

the parliament dissolved, but some mem-

sessions, his majesty will not only, for the present, forbear the levying of any ship-money, but will give way to the utter abolishing of it, by any course that yourselves shall like best. And for your grievances, his majesty will (according to his royal promise) give you as much time as may be now, and the next Michaelmas; and he expects a present and positive answer, upon which he may rely, his affairs being in such a condition as can endure no longer delay. Hereupon the house was turned into a grand committee, and spent the whole day till six at night in debate of this message; but came to no resolution, and desired Sir Henry Vane to acquaint his majesty, that they intended the next day to proceed in the further consideration thereof[a]." But on the next day (the king being enraged at their not immediately complying,) as I have before observed, they were dissolved in an angry manner; his majesty telling the lords, "That it had been the malicious cunning of some few seditiously affected men [in the house of commons], that had been the cause of the misunderstanding[b]."——Thus if the king had great and weighty cause to call together this parliament, for a very small, or rather no cause, did he part from it; "for," says Clarendon, "no man could imagine what offence the commons had given, which put the king upon that resolution[c]." But Charles was wont to act rashly and precipitately, to come suddenly and hastily to a resolution, and as suddenly to repent of it. His end, indeed, he kept steadily in view; but the means to accomplish it were, for the most part, ill-judged, and ill-conducted. No wonder, therefore, he was unhappy!

[a] Rushworth, vol. III. p. 1154. [b] Id. p. 1155. [c] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 140.

bers of the house of commons were summoned before the council [59], on account of what had passed there; and, not answering to his majesty's satisfaction, were imprisoned. Ship-money now was exacted with great rigour; and such sheriffs as were

[59] Some members of the house of commons were summoned before the council, and—imprisoned.] Charles had a very high opinion of the regal power, and a very contemptible one of the power of parliaments. This has been proved in the notes 48 and 49. Here follows still farther proof of it, as well as of his violating the privileges of the members of that most illustrious body. Soon after the parliament was dissolved, his majesty published a declaration to all his loving subjects, of the causes which moved him to dissolve the last parliament. In this declaration he treats with great severity of language his former parliaments; shews the end he had in view in calling this last, even the raising money to support the army to be raised against the Scots; his willingness to have redressed their grievances, even before they had given him a supply, if the great necessity of his occasions would have permitted; the neglect of the commons to give him content, notwithstanding they were pressed to do it by himself and the lords, and that he had declared he would afterwards redress their grievances: I say, after having set forth these things, he observes, "Those ill-affected members of the house of commons, instead of an humble and dutiful way of presenting their grievances to his majesty, have taken upon them to be the guiders and directors in all matters that concern his majestie's government, both temporal and ecclesiastical: and (as if kings were

negligent in executing the writs for raising it, were ordered to be prosecuted in the Star-chamber.

Knighthood-money was set on foot, and the citizens of London invited to a loan. But they generally refused, being discon-

bound to give an account of their regal actions, and of their manner of government, to their subjects assembled in parliament) they have, in a very audacious and insolent way, entered into examination and censuring of the present government, traduced his majestie's administration of justice, rendered, as much as in them lay, odious to the rest of his majestie's subjects, not only the officers and ministers of state, but even his majestie's very government, which hath been so just and gracious, that never did this or any other nation enjoy more blessings and happiness, than hath been by all his majestie's subjects enjoyed ever since his majestie's access to the crown: nor did this kingdom ever so flourish in trade and commerce as at this present, or partake of more peace and plenty in all kinds whatsoever."—Having thus vented his resentment against those members that offended him in parliament, and praised his own government, he "permits his loving subjects freely to address themselves by their humble petitions to his sacred majesty, if they have any just cause to complain of any grievances or oppressions, who will graciously hear their complaints, and give such fitting redress therein, that all his people shall have just cause to acknowledge his grace and goodness towards them; and to be fully satisfied that no persons or assemblies can more prevail with his majesty, than the piety and justice of his own royal nature, and the tender affection he doth and shall

tented at the present proceedings, as well as angry on account of their treatment about Londonderry, of which I have formerly spoken. However little, comparatively,

ever bear to all his people and loving subjects[a]."—Were a man disposed to be severe on the memory of Charles, this declaration would afford him abundant matter for it. To hear a government extolled as just and gracious; a nation declared to have enjoyed so great happiness, when all steps had been taken to enslave it, and all orders and degrees of men had experienced the intolerable rigour and severity of the administration; must fill one with indignation against such as attempt so grossly to impose on mankind.

Lord Clarendon, though he has spoken of Charles's oppressions, or those of his ministers, in strong and just terms many times, yet, after all, avers, agreeably to this declaration, "That during the whole time that these pressures were exercised, and those new and extraordinary ways were run—which was above twelve years, this kingdom, and all his majestie's dominions, enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with[b]." One would think his lordship, as well as the compiler of his majesty's declaration, imagined that their readers were all destitute of common sense, or totally ignorant of Charles's government. For a man of a tolerable knowledge in the history, and a tolerable capacity, must draw very different conclusions from the facts recited in the foregoing notes.

Let us now go on with the history.—"The day following the dissolution of this parliament, some

[a] Rushworth, vol. III. p. 1166. [b] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 74.

was produced, except by the clergy, nobility, and gentry belonging to the court: these indeed contributed liberally. But though a royal army was raised, and the

members were imprisoned: the lord Brooks his study, cabinets, and pockets were searched for papers; Henry Bellasis, knight of the shire for the county of York, and Sir John Hotham, were convened before the council, and there examined concerning some particulars importing the king's service, whereunto they making (as the board conceived) no satisfactory answers (for they were interrogated concerning passages in parliament, his majesty being present in council), were ordered to be committed to the Fleet.—John Crew, Esq. was also convented before the board, his majesty being present in council, and was there desired by his majesty to deliver to the clerk of the house of commons all petitions, papers, and complaints that he had received, being in the chair at the committee for religion. But he desired, for some reasons, to be excused as to the delivery of them; whereupon it was commanded that he should be committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he continued till near the time of the meeting of another parliament, Nov. 5, 1640[a]." These were likely methods to conciliate the affections of the English nation to this prince indeed! These were prudent measures! well-timed severities! which must be of great service when Scotland was in arms, and his majesty destitute of the means of resisting them! But he imagined there was magic in the name of KING, which gave him the liberty of doing as he pleased, and the power of bending all to his will. However, he soon found himself mistaken.—Lord

[a] Rushworth, vol. III. p. 1167.

king in person commanded it, yet its success was but very indifferent: for the soldiers

Clarendon tells us, "That the king, when he had better reflected on what was like to fall out, and was better informed of the temper and duty of the house of commons—was heartily sorry for what he had done: —and, he says, he consulted the same day, or the next, whether he might by his proclamation recall them to meet together again[a]." Bolingbroke, in the passage quoted in the foregoing note, speaks also of his speedy repentance for this dissolution. But how to reconcile this with the known facts of Charles's publishing the above-quoted declaration, so highly injurious unto them, and his treatment of some of the members, is beyond, I think, every ordinary capacity. —I shall conclude this note with observing, that Charles's whole conduct at this time was void of prudence and policy. Divers aldermen of London were sent for to the council-table, to give in the names of such citizens as were able to lend the king money; which they refusing to do, were committed to prison[b]. The lord mayor and sheriffs of London were ordered to be proceeded against in the Star-chamber, for neglect in raising ship-money; as were the sheriffs of other counties[c]. The refusers of coat and conduct-money were ordered to be brought up to London[d]. The money in the mint, belonging to private persons, was seized by the king, and released not till the owners thereof lent him 40,000 *l.* and a project was set on foot for coining 2 or 300,000 *l.* of copper money, which should be mixed with a 4th part of silver[e], though it took not effect, as I can remember: and all the pepper

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 140. [b] Rushworth, vol. III. p. 1181.
[c] Id. p. 1173, 1203. [d] Id. p. 1202. [e] Sydney's Papers, vol. II. p. 656.

went most unwillingly to the war[60], and therefore behaved not bravely in it. For,

the merchants had in store, lying under the Old Exchange, amounting to a great sum, was bought up by the king on credit, and immediately sold again at a considerable undervalue[a]. By these and other such measures did his majesty strengthen himself against the Scots, as he thought. But they, more sharp-sighted, were pleased with his proceedings, as well knowing those who were disobliged and ill-treated by him, would never willingly forward his success against them.

[60] The soldiers went most unwillingly to the war, &c.] The king might have judged something of the temper of the English by his first expedition against the Scots; but he seems not to have known it, or little to have valued it. He got together an army indeed, of which the earl of Northumberland was appointed general (but he falling sick, the earl of Strafforde had the command, under the title of lieutenant-general), and the lord Conway general of the horse. "But in the expedition of the king's army towards the North, it was a marvellous thing to observe, in divers places, the averseness of the common soldiers from this warre. Though commanders and gentlemen of great quality, in pure obedience to the king, seemed not at all to dispute the cause or consequence of this warre, the common souldiers would not be satisfied, questioning in a mutinous manner, whether their captains were papists or not; and in many places were not appeased till they saw them receive the sacrament; laying violent hands on divers of their commanders, and killing some, uttering in bold speeches their distaste of the cause, to the astonishment of many, that common

[a] Rushworth, vol. III. p. 1216.

after some dispute, Conway gave way; and the Scots entered England, and took possession of Newcastle. The great council,

people should be sensible of publicke interest and religion, when lords and gentlemen seemed not to be[a]." ——"Nothing," says Whitlock, "could alter the opinion and humour of divers of the officers and soldiers of his [Charles's] army, who, in their march to their rendezvous, spared not to declare their judgments against this war; and that they would not fight to maintain the pride and power of the bishops; and this their resolution seemed not to be feigned, by the ill success afterwards[b]." Lord Clarendon seems to own the fact also in the following passage, though, after his manner, he has glossed and disguised it. "The earl of Strafforde found the army about Durham, bringing with him a body much broken with his late sickness, which was not clearly shaken off, and a mind and temper confessing the dregs of it, which being marvellously provoked and inflamed with indignation at the late dishonour [at Newburn], rendered him less gracious, that is, less inclined to make himself so to the officers, upon his first entrance into his charge: it may be, in that mass of disorder, not quickly discerning to whom kindness and respect was justly due. But those who by this time, no doubt, were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the army against him; and so far prevailed in it, that in a short time it was more inflamed against him, than against the enemy; and was willing to have their want of courage imputed to an excess of conscience, and that their being not satisfied in the grounds of the quarrel was the only cause that they fought no

[a] May's Parliamentary History, p. 64. [b] Whitlock, p. 35.

upon this, was summoned to meet at York; to whom his majesty declared his resolution to call a parliament to sit the November

better[a]." I shall not here enter into the particulars of this second expedition against the Scots. Our common histories will satisfy the curiosity of the reader. I will only observe, that the event was such as might have been expected from an army averse to the cause in which it was engaged. For, in an encounter, the English under the command of lord Conway fled: some of his most gallant officers were taken prisoners; Newcastle and Durham were garrisoned by the Scots; and the ships loaden with corn for his majesty's army, were seized by them.—The king now found himself in a bad condition. A considerable number of noblemen petitioned him to summon a parliament, whereby the causes of the grievances of the English nation might be taken away; the city of London did the same: the great council of peers, assembled for advice by his majesty at York, were for a treaty with the Scots, which issued at length in an agreement; by which a cessation of arms was concluded, and a contribution of 850*l. per diem* for the Scots army was granted.

"Many wondered, and some inveighed against this treaty, wishing the king would have put it rather to the issue of a battle, than to have given such terms to his subjects in rebellion; and of this judgment was Strafford, and the episcopal party. But the other part cried up this treaty as just, honourable, and pious, to prevent effusion of blood, and to settle peace; and the king saw plainly, that both, divers officers of his army, and even the private soldiers generally

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 145. See also Monteth's History of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 59. fol. Lond. 1738.

following, which accordingly he did. How far choice and inclination concurred with the advice of others [61], and the necessity of his affairs may be a question.

(which was a remarkable inclination), had no mind to fight against the Scots, which chiefly caused the king to conclude this treaty [a]."——What followed will be soon seen. But no man, from what has yet appeared, can help wondering at the conduct of this unhappy monarch. His resolution we see failed him, his hopes vanished, and he found himself unable any longer to rule by his will. All his actions tended hitherto to irritate and provoke the English; (who yet he expected should spend their blood and treasures in his idle quarrels about a liturgy and church-government.) Nothing that was pleasing was attempted by him; and therefore with great joy did they see the Scots advance, and looked on them as their deliverers; for without them, probably the English had been enslaved. For this reason they were well treated by the next parliament, and sent home with store of English money and spoils [b].

[61] How far choice and inclination concurred with the advice of others, &c.] We have frequently had occasion to observe the manner in which Charles spoke to his parliaments, and his treatment of them. Indeed he seldom kept them long together, and always parted with them in anger. One may well enough therefore conclude, that he was not much enamoured of parliaments, or desirous of calling them. But yet his majesty, in the Icon Basilike, is made to speak as follows: "This last parliament [of November 1640] I called not more by others advice, and necessity of my affairs,

[a] Whitlock, p. 37. [b] Id. p. 47.

But however this be, the parliament, which met November 3, 1640, soon gave his majesty great uneasiness; for he found all the illegal powers exercised from the be-

than by my own choice and inclination; who have always thought the right way of parliaments most safe for my crown, as best pleasing to my people. And although I was not forgetful of those sparks which some men's distempers formerly studied to kindle in parliaments (which, by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished); yet resolving with myself to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all public grievances in church and state, I hoped (by my freedom and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: in which as I feared affaires would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should find least of them in myself; not doubting but by the weight of reason, I should counterpoise the overbalancings of any factions[a]." This has an air of great moderation. But as it happened not to tally with some facts in the foregoing notes recited, it gave occasion to Milton to speak in the following manner. "That which the king lays down here, as his first foundation, and as it were the headstone of the whole structure, that he 'called this last parliament not more by others advice, and the necessity of his affairs, than by his own choice and inclination;' is to all knowing men so apparently not true, that a more unlucky and inauspicious sentence, and more betokening the downfall of his whole fabrick, hardly could have come into his mind. For who knows not that the inclination of a prince is best known either by those next about him,

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 647.

ginning of his reign, condemned in it: and acts were passed, prohibiting them express-

and most in favour with him, or by the current of his own actions? Those nearest to this king, and most his favourites, were courtiers and prelates; men whose chief study was to find out which way the king inclined, and to imitate him exactly: how these men stood affected to parliaments, cannot be forgotten. No man but may remember, it was their continual exercise to dispute and preach against them; and in their common discourse nothing was more frequent, than that 'they hoped the king should have now no need of parliaments any more.' And this was but the copy which his parasites had industriously taken from his own words and actions, who never called a parliament but to supply his necessities; and having supplied those, as suddenly and ignominiously dissolved it, without redressing any one grievance of the people: sometimes chusing rather to miss of his subsidies, or to raise them by illegal courses, than that the people should not still miss of their hopes to be relieved by parliaments."—After enumerating Charles's treatment of his former parliaments, he adds, "Much less therefore did he call this parliament by his own choice and inclination; but having first tried in vain all undue ways to procure money, his army of their own accord being beaten in the North, the lords petitioning, and the general voice of the people almost hissing him, and his ill-acted regality off the stage, compelled at length both by his wants and by his fears, upon mere extremity he summoned this last parliament. And how is it possible that he should willingly incline to parliaments, who never was perceived to call them but for the greedy hope of a whole national bribe, his subsidies; and never loved, never fulfilled, never promoted

ly for the future. These things Charles could make no resistance against, they being

the true ends of parliaments, the redress of grievances; but still put them off, and prolonged them, whether gratified or not gratified: and was, indeed, the author of all those grievances? To say therefore that he called this parliament out of his own choice and inclination, argues how little truth we can expect from the sequel of this book, which ventures, in the very first period, to affront more than one nation with an untruth so remarkable; and presumes a more implicit faith in the people of England, than the pope ever commanded from the Romish laity; or else a natural sottishness fit to be abused and ridden[a]."

The following quotations from Clarendon, with what I shall afterwards add, will fully determine which of these authors is in the right.—"When the lords came to York, at the great council in September, and the first day of their meeting (that the counsel might not seem to arise from them who were resolved to give it, and that the queen might receive the honour of it; who, the king said, had by letter advised him to it; as his majesty exceedingly desired to endear her to the people) the king declared to them, that he was resolved to call a parliament[b]."—And again: "The king was in very great straits, and had it not in his power absolutely to choose which way he would go; and well foresaw that a parliament, in that conjuncture of affairs, would not apply natural and proper remedies to the disease: for though it was not imaginable it would run the courses it afterwards did, yet it was visible enough he must resign very much to their affections and appetite (which were not like to be contained within any modest

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 405. [b] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 154.

required by the nation, and approved by his best friends. But with difficulty did

bounds), and therefore no question his majesty did not think of calling a parliament at first, but was wrought to it by degrees[a]."

Much choice and inclination seem not here to be intimated. What was his real opinion of parliaments will appear best from the following passages.—In a letter to the lord deputy Wentworth, dated London, Ap. 17, 1634, speaking of the Irish parliament, he says, "As for that hydra, take good heed; for you know, that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious[b]." In another letter, dated London, 22 Jan. 1634, he gives his opinion, for dissolving the Irish parliament, to the same nobleman, and supports it in the following manner. "For the first [the not continuing the parliament], my reasons are grounded upon my experience of them here: they are of the nature of cats, they ever grow curst with age; so that if you will have good of them, put them off handsomely when they come to any age; for young ones are ever most tractable; and in earnest you will find, that nothing can more conduce to the beginning of a new, than the well ending of the former parliament; wherefore now that we are well, let us content ourselves therewith[c]." This does not look as if Charles "always thought the right way of parliaments most safe for his crown, as best pleasing to the people." We may conclude therefore, that the mind of Charles is not, in this instance, truly represented in his pourtraicture. I shall only add, that our modern politicians form a very different judgment from what is just now given, concerning the danger of long parliaments.

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 161. [b] Strafforde's Letters, vol. I. p. 233. [c] Id. p. 365.

he give up Strafforde to the block [62], though hateful to the English, Scotish, and Irish

[62] But with difficulty did he give up Strafforde to the block, &c.] Those who are unacquainted with the character of this nobleman, must be little conversant in the history of Charles.—Born to an ample fortune, he made soon a figure in life. In the beginning of this reign he opposed the measures of the court, and with many brave and worthy men suffered for so doing. His temper, however, was not so much soured thereby as to indispose him to hearken to the proposals made him from his majesty. He accepted of them, and soon became, by means of Laud, to whom he closely adhered, a favourite and prime counsellor. Those who would know him thoroughly, need only read his letters and dispatches, and his trial. From these will appear his great abilities, and unwearied industry; as also the rigorous measures which he recommended and pursued, whereby he disgusted the English, provoked the Scots, and irritated many Irish against him. Scarce had the parliament sat, before the commons impeached him. Upon this he was taken into custody, committed to the Tower, and brought to a most solemn trial before his peers, the king and queen incognito attending. During his trial he received the following letter from his majesty, dated Whythall, Ap. 23, 1641.

"STRAFFORD,

"The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjunction of these tymes, being such that I must lay by the thought of imploying you hereafter in my affaires, yet I cannot satisfie in honnor or conscience, without asseuring you (now in the midest of our trobles) that upon the word of a king, you shall not suffer in lyfe, honnor, or fortune: this is but justice, and therefore a very meane rewarde

nations, on account of the severity of his maxims and government: for he looked on him as an able and faithful minister, who

from a maister, to so faithful and able a servant, as you have showed yourself to bee; yet it is as much as I conceave the present tymes will permitt, though none shall hinder me from being

"Your constant faithful frend,

"CHARLES R."[a]

This letter no doubt gave great satisfaction to the lord lieutenant, of whose behaviour on his trial, Mr. Whitlock, a manager against him, thus speaks: "Certainly never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great and excellent person did; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors (some few excepted) to remorse and pity[b]." But notwithstanding this behaviour, and some doubt arising whether the charge against him was treason, a bill was brought into the house of commons to attaint him of high treason; which after warm debates passed, and was sent up to the house of lords. Hereupon, on the 1st of May, 1641, "the king called both houses of parliament together, and did passionately desire of them not to proceed severely against the earl, whom he answered for, as to most of the main particulars of the charge against him; tells them, that in conscience he cannot condemn the earl of high treason, and that neither fear nor any other respect should make him go against his conscience. But for misdemeanors, he is so clear in them, that he thinks the earl not fit hereafter to serve him, or the commonwealth in

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 416. [b] Whitlock, p. 44.

had consulted his honour and interest, and, though guilty of offences, yet quite free from the crime of high treason. At length,

any place of trust, no not so much as a constable [a]." The bill of attainder however passed the house of lords, and was tendered to his majesty for his royal assent. "The king being much perplexed upon the tendering of these two bills [for Strafforde's attainder, and the bill for continuing the parliament] to him, between the clamours of a discontented people, and an unsatisfied conscience; he took advice (as some reported) of several of the bishops, and of others his intimate counsellours, what to do in this intricate affair: and that the major part of them urged to him the opinion of the judges, That this was treason, and the bill legal. They pressed likewise the votes of the parliament, That he was but one man, that no other expedient could be found out to appease the enraged people, and that the consequences of a furious multitude would be very terrible. Upon all which they persuaded him to pass the bills. But the chief motive was said to be, a letter of the earl of Strafforde, then sent unto him, wherein the gallant earl takes notice of these things, and what is best for his majesty in these straits, and to set his conscience at liberty: he doth most humbly beseech him, for prevention of such mischiefs as may happen by his refusal, to pass the bill, to remove him out of the way, towards that blessed agreement which God (I trust) shall for ever establish betwixt you and your subjects. 'Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides: to a willing man there is no injury done.'

"If not base betraying of their master by these

[a] Whitlock, p. 45; and King Charles's Works, p. 172.

however, against his own judgment, he signed the bill of attainder, to the very great amazement of Strafforde, and the

passages, and by some private dealings, the king was persuaded to sign a commission to three lords, to pass these two bills; and that he should ever be brought to it, was admired by most of his subjects, as well as by foreigners.

"Himself ingenuously acknowledgeth the grounds of doing this, and his error therein, in his excellent Eikon Basil. chap. 5.

"After he had signed these bills, the king sent secretary Carleton to the earl, to acquaint him what was done, and the motives of it, especially the earl's consent; who seriously asked the secretary, whether his majesty had passed the bill or not? as not believing, without some astonishment, that the king would have done it. And being again assured that it was passed, he rose up from his chair, lift up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand on his heart, and said, 'Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation.'—Certainly he [Charles] had great remorse thereupon; and the next day, May 11, he sent a letter by the prince to the lords, written all with his own hand, That they would confer with the house of commons to spare the life of the earl, and that would be a high contentment to him. Some did not stick to say, that this was promised to him, before he signed the bill of attainder, and to bring him to it. But now the lords house did not think fit to consent to his majestie's desire herein[a]." The earl therefore was obliged to submit to the fatal stroke on the scaffold on Tower-hill, May 12, 1641, which he did with very

[a] Whitlock, p. 45.

confusion of his adherents.—The death of this great man lay always heavy on the mind of Charles.—This sacrifice, together

great resolution. A passage from Burnet must be added, to make this account of Charles's behaviour towards Strafforde complete. It was told him by lord Hollis.

"The earl of Strafforde had married his sister; so though in the parliament he was one of the hottest men of the party, yet when that matter was before them, he always withdrew. When the bill of attainder was passed, the king sent for him to know what he could do to save the earl of Strafforde. Hollis answered, that if the king pleased, since the execution of the law was in him, he might legally grant him a reprieve, which must be good in law; but he would not advise it. That which he proposed was, that lord Strafforde should send him a petition for a short respite, to settle his affairs, and prepare for death; upon which he advised the king to come next day with the petition in his hands, and to lay it before the two houses, with a speech which he drew for the king; and Hollis said to him, he would try his interest among his friends to get them to consent to it. He prepared a great many, by assuring them, that if they would save lord Strafforde, he would become wholly theirs, in consequence of his first principles: and that he might do them much more service by being preserved, than he could do if made an example, upon such new and doubtful points. In this he had wrought on so many, that he believed, if the king's party had struck into it, he might have saved him. It was carried to the queen, as if Hollis had engaged that the earl of Strafforde should accuse her, and discover all he knew: so the queen not only diverted the king

with the passing the bills for triennial parliaments; for not dissolving the present

from going to the parliament, changing the speech into a message, all written with his own hand, and sent to the house of lords by the prince of Wales [which Hollis said would perhaps have done as well, the king being apt to spoil things by an unacceptable manner]; but, to the wonder of the whole world, the queen prevailed with him to add that mean postscript, "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday:" which was a very unhandsome giving up of the whole message. When it was communicated to both houses, the whole court party was plainly against it; and so he fell truly by the queen's means[a]." Mr. Whitlock, in the passage above quoted, refers to the Icon Basilike for the grounds of Charles's passing this bill of attainder, and his error therein. Let us see what is there said.—"I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, than in the business of that unfortunate earl; when, between my own unsatisfiedness in conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was perswaded by those that I think wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe, than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of conscience before God[b]." Charles never got over the uneasiness his consent to lord Strafforde's death gave him; for on the scaffold he pronounced the following words:—"God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that God's judgments are just upon me; many times he doth pay justice by an unjust sentence; that is ordinary. I will only say this, that an unjust sen-

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 44; and K. Charles's Works, p. 138. [b] King Charles's Works, p. 649.

parliament without its own consent; for abolishing the courts of Star-chamber and

tence that I suffered to take effect, is punished now by an unjust sentence upon me[a]." Milton certainly is blameable then in insulting over Charles, for expressing his sorrow for consenting to Strafforde's death.—"That it wrung his conscience to condemn the earl of high treason, is not unlikely; not because he thought him guiltless of highest treason, had half those crimes been committed against his own private interest or person, as appeared plainly by his charge against the six members; but because he knew himself a principal in what the earl was but his accessary; and thought nothing treason against the commonwealth, but against himself only[b]."—There was no occasion for this insult; for it appears Charles's scruple arose from the earl's not being liable to the laws then in force against treason, and therefore might think it unjust to execute him as a traitor, even though he had appeared much more criminal in his eyes than probably he did.—Those who have read the trial of this nobleman through, without prejudice, will perhaps hardly be so apt to lament his fate as his majesty. They may mislike the method taken to punish him, and condemn the riots rose on that occasion; but surely they cannot be sorry to find a man made an example, who, in the judgment of lord Digby, "was the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that can be charactered. I believe," adds he, "his practices in themselves have been as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured on: and the malignity of them are hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the use, but the devil the

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 208. [b] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 410.

High-commission; and the bill for taking away the bishops' votes in parliament, and

application. In a word, I believe him still that grand apostate to the commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be dispatched to the other[a]." If this was his character, and Digby at this time was not his foe, can any man—I repeat it—be sorry to find that he was made an example of?

In the bill of attainder, there was the following proviso. "Provided that no judge or judges, justice or justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any act or thing to be treason, nor hear or determine any treason, in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this act, and as if this act had never been had or made[b]." Upon this it is remarked, in the Icon Basilike, that "that after-act, vacating the authority of the precedent for future imitation, sufficiently tells the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves[c]." How pertinent this reflection is, will appear by what follows.—"Abundance of people, especially the old cavaliers, understand this proviso as a reflection on the bill itself; and as if his case [Strafforde's] was so very hard, even in the opinion of the parliament itself, that it was ordered by this clause to be no precedent for the future. This is a ridiculous error in many respects: first, because doing a thing in one parliament, and ordering it to be no precedent to another, is an arrant bull; since the very doing it is and must be a precedent, at the same time 'tis ordered that it shall be none. Secondly, it would have been an unparalleled open injustice, to put one man to death

[a] Strafforde's Tryal by Rushworth, p. 50. fol. Lond. 1680. [b] Id. p. 757. [c] King Charles's Works, p. 649.

all temporal jurisdictions and offices from them, and all others in holy orders[63]; I

for such a crime, as, even in the opinion of those who punished him, was not great enough to be capital in any other person, or at any other time. And it will not weaken this argument to say, that it was an unjust cruel act, and therefore a good many dissented from it: for those dissenting members themselves could not be so uncharitable as to imagine all the members of both houses, who passed the bill, not only so base and bloody as to be all the while against it in their consciences, but so foolish also as to own it in the very bill itself. And therefore nothing can be plainer than that 'tis only a gross mistake among ignorant people, to think they meant it in that manner. Accordingly, that act of Charles II. which has reversed this bill of attainder, and in the preamble recited every thing imaginable in favour of that earl, yet takes no notice of this clause, which had more descredited the bill than all the rest, if it could have been interpreted in that manner[a]." If Mr. Hume had attended to these considerations, he would possibly have left out the reflection in the close of the following period. "The first parliament, after the restoration, reversed the bill of attainder; and even a few weeks after Strafforde's execution, this very parliament remitted to his children the more severe consequences of his sentence [by a bill for restoring them in blood and honour, and settling his lands on his heirs], as if conscious of the violence with which the affair had been conducted[b]." Surely so just, so generous a thing, merited not such an ill-natured remark.

[63] The bill for taking away the bishops' votes in parliament, and all temporal jurisdictions and offices from

[a] Works of John Sheffield Duke of Bucks, vol. II. p. 120. 12mo. Lond. 1723. [b] History of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 286.

say, the passing these bills seemed calculated to allay the fears of the people, and

them, and all others in holy orders.] The bishops and court-clergy had rendered themselves so very unpopular and odious, by promoting the schemes for tyranny in church and state, that we need not wonder to find them very furiously attacked by men of sense, virtue and moderation. In the beginning of this parliament a short bill was brought in, "to take away the bishops votes in parliament, and to leave them out in all commissions of the peace, or that had relation to any temporal affairs." This, on a second reading, was cast out in the house of peers, where the bishops then had votes.—Soon after this another short bill was prepared for "the utter eradication of bishops, deans and chapters, with all chancellors, officials, and all officers, and other persons, belonging to either of them. This also was laid aside for a time[a]." Lord Clarendon, speaking of this bill, says, "they [the governing party in the houses] prevailed with Sir Edward Dering, a man very opposite to all their designs (but a man of levity and vanity; easily flattered, by being commended), to present into the house; which he did from the gallery, with the two verses in Ovid, the application whereof was his greatest motive:

> Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus
> Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.

He took notice of the great moderation and candour of the house, in applying so gentle a remedy, by the late bill, to retrench the exorbitancies of the clergy: hoping that by pruning and taking off a few unnecessary branches from the trunk, the tree might prosper the better; that this mortification might have mended

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 234, 237.

to satisfy the parliament. But they had not this effect: for during these transac-

their constitution, and that they would have the more carefully intended their health: but that this soft remedy had proved so ineffectual, that they were grown more obstinate and incorrigible; so that it was now necessary to put the ax to the root of the tree, and therefore desired that the bill might be read[a]." I have quoted this passage at length, in order to give the reader a specimen of lord Clarendon's relations and colourings. Sir Edward Dering, here spoken of, was a man of sense, virtue, and learning, perhaps not inferior to his lordship, of a family vastly superior. His zeal for the interest of religion was great, as well as his concern for the honour and welfare of its teachers: he could not, therefore, be actuated by so mean a motive as the application of Ovid's verses. Sir Edward himself has published the speech he made on this occasion, in which there is hardly one sentence of what his lordship has put into his mouth. "Sir," says he, addressing himself to the speaker, "I am now the instrument to present unto you a very short (but a very sharp) bill: such as these times and their sad necessities have brought forth. It speaks a free language, and makes a bold request: it is a purging bill. I give it you as I take physick, not for delight, but for a cure. A cure now, the last and only cure, if (as I hope) all other remedies have first been tried. Then *immedicabile vulnus*, &c. but *cuncta prius tentanda*——I never was for ruine, so long as I could hold any hope of reforming. My hopes that way are even almost withered.—Sir, you see their demerits have exposed them *publici odii piaculares victimas*. I am sorry they are so ill; I am more sorry that they will not be content to

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 237.

tions several things happened, which made

be bettered, which I did hope would have been effected by our last bill. When the bill is perfected, I shall give a sad I unto it. And at the delivery in thereof, I doe now profess beforehand, that if my former hopes of a full reformation may yet revive and prosper, I will again divide my sense upon this bill, and yeeld my shoulders to underprop the primitive, lawful, and just episcopacy: yet so as that I will never be wanting, with my utmost pains and prayers, to root out all the undue adjuncts to it, and superstructures on it[2]."—Is not this very different from the representation of his speech in Clarendon?—This bill, Sir Edward says, was pressed into his hands by S. A. H. [Sir Arthur Haselrig] being then brought unto him by S. H. V. [Sir Henry Vane] and O. C. [Oliver Cromwell].—But to proceed—Though for the present this bill was dropped, yet the design against the bishops and clergy was not laid aside. So ill had they acted, for the most part, that the cry against them was common; and nothing would satisfy but an exclusion of them from those civil employments, in which they had so badly behaved. The bill therefore was soon again revived; and though committed to a committee of the whole house (of which Mr. Hyde was the chairman) once more miscarried. This raised the hopes of the clergy, we may well suppose. But their hopes soon forsook them: for their adversaries determining to clip their wings, and deprive them of the power of wreaking their revenge, presented a new bill, "for taking away the bishops votes in parliament; and for disabling them to exercise any temporal office in the kingdom." This passed without much opposition in the house of commons. In the house of lords it stuck for a time; but the cla-

[2] Collection of Speeches, p. 63.

ill impressions of his majesty on the minds

mours against the bishops increasing, and they weakly protesting against every thing done there in their absence, it made its way at length, and was offered to the royal assent. Charles for a time deliberated; but being overcome by persuasions, sorely against his mind, he passed it by commission[a], and thereupon had the thanks of both houses[b].—It is not to be doubted the ill-will excited by the clergy against themselves in the breasts of most men, had a good share in the framing and passing these bills. But it was not ill-will alone. The house of commons at this time, abounded with men of sense: they saw what was right, they had resolution to do it, and were not ashamed to render the reasons of their conduct. As a curiosity I will give them the reader, from an authority most unexceptionable. They are as follows.

1. Reason of the house of commons: "because it [votes of bishops in parliament] is a very great hinderance to the exercise of their ministerial function.

2. "Because they do vow and undertake at their ordination, when they enter into holy orders, that they will give themselves wholly to that vocation.

3. "Because councils and canons, in several ages, do forbid them to meddle with secular affairs.

4. "Because the twenty-four bishops have a dependency upon the archbishops, and because of their canonical obedience to them.

5. "Because they are but for their lives, and therefore are not fit to have legislative power over the honors, inheritances, persons, and liberties of others.

6. "Because of bishops dependency and expectancy of translations to places of greater profit.'

[a] Feb. 14, 1641. [b] Clarendon, vol. II. p. 302, 333, 426, 428; Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 554.

of the leaders in both houses of parliament. For a project was discovered for bring-

7. " The several bishops have of late much encroached upon the consciences and properties of the subject; and they and their successors will be much encouraged still to encroach, and the subject will be much discouraged from complaining against such encroachments, if twenty-six of that order bee to bee judges upon these complaints. The same reason extends to their legislative power, in any bill to pass for the reformation of their power upon any inconvenience by it.

8. " Because the whole number of them is interested to maintaine the jurisdiction of bishops, which hath been found so grievous to the three kingdoms, that Scotland hath utterly abolished it, and multitudes in England and Ireland have petitioned against it.

9. " Because bishops being lords of parliament, it setteth too great a distance between them and the rest of their brethren in the ministery, which occasioneth pride in them, discontent in others, and disquiet in the church."

These were the reasons given why bishops ought not to vote in parliament, by the commons: and these being published, were answered by an episcopal advocate. Upon which, by order of a committee of the house of commons, there was printed " An humble examination of a printed abstract of the answers to nine reasons of the house of commons, against the votes of bishops in parliament[*]." It is from this piece I have taken the above reasons, and would recommend the pamphlet to the perusal of all such as are willing well to understand the then reasons for and against the

[*] London, printed for P. Stevens and C. Meredith, 1641, 4to.

ing up the English army from the North, in order to awe the parliament[64], and en-

bishops concerning themselves in parliamentary affairs. —But the reader here will please to remember, that whatever might have been thought of the above reasons at that time, we are to suppose they have long been of no force. The zeal for the constitution in church and state, the abhorrence of all ministerial measures inconsistent therewith, the opposition to every thing contrary to liberty and the public good; and above all, the self-denial, contempt of the world, humility, and constant discharge of episcopal duties, as required in the New Testament: I say, all these things shew how much the bishops since the restoration are altered, and how much those are mistaken who represent them as a dead weight in the house of lords, and an useless expence to the public.

[64] A project was discovered for bringing up the army in order to awe the parliament, &c.] Whilst lord Strafforde's fate was depending, a consultation was held how his death might be prevented; and more especially how the English army in the North might be made use of, in order "to the preservation of the offices and votes of the bishops; the not disbanding the Irish army, until the Scots were disbanded too: and the endeavouring to settle his majestie's revenue to that proportion it was formerly." The persons concerned in this affair were principally Henry Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland; Mr. Wilmot, eldest son to the lord Wilmot; colonel Ashburnham, captain Pollard, Mr. Goring, Mr. Jermyn, Mr. O'Neale, &c. men of family, fortune, and influence in the army. "It was resolved by us all," says Mr. Percy in his letter to lord Northumberland, dated June 14, 1641, "if the king should require our assistance

large his majesty's revenue. In this project many chief officers were concerned,

in these things [the articles abovementioned], that as far as we could, we might contribute thereunto, without breaking the laws of the kingdom; and in case the king should deny these things being put to them, we would not flie from him. All these persons [Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, O'Neal] did act and concur in this as well as I. This being all imparted to the king by me from them, I perceived he had been treated with by others concerning something of our army, which did not agree with what we proposed, but inclined a way more high and sharp, not having limits either of honour or law, I told the king he might be pleased to consider with himself which way it was fit for him to hearken unto. For us, we were resolved not to depart from our grounds; and if he employed others, we should not be displeased, whosoever they were: but the particulars of their designe, or the persons, we desired not to know, though it was no hard matter to guess at them. In the end, I believe the dangers of the one, and the justice of the other, made the king tell me, he would leave all thoughts of other propositions but ours, as things not practicable; but desired notwithstanding, that Goring and Jermin, who were acquainted with the other proceeding, should be admitted amongst us: I told him, I thought the other gentlemen would never consent to it, but I would propose it; which I did, and we were all much against it; but the king did press it so much, as, at the last, it was consented unto; and Goring and Jermin came to my chamber: there I was appointed to tell them, after they had sworn to secrecy, what he had proposed, which I did.—Then we took up again the ways were proposed, which took a great debate; and theirs (I

who, on discovery, confessed the king was well acquainted with it. This discovery

will say) differed from ours in violence and height, which we all protested against, and parted, disagreeing totally; yet remitting it to be spoken of by me and Jermin to the king, which we both did. And the king constant to his former resolution, told him, that all those ways were vain and foolish, and would think of them no more[a]."

Mr. Goring, on his examination, confessed that "his majesty asked him, if he was engaged in any cabale concerning the army: to which he answered that he was not: whereupon his majesty replied, I command you then to join yourself with Percy, and some others whom you will find with him. And his majesty likewise said, I have a desire to put my army in a good posture, and am advised unto it by my lord of Bristol: which was the effect of what passed between the king and the examinate at that time. The examinate meeting afterwards with Mr. Jermin, Mr. Jermin told him, that they were to meet at evening at nine of the clock with Mr. Percy, and some others, at Mr. Percy's chamber; and accordingly Mr. Jermin and he went thither together, and there found Mr. Percy himself, Mr. Wilmot, Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Pollard, Mr. O'Neale, and Sir John Bartley: Mr. Percy then, in the first place, tendered an oath to this examinate and Mr. Jermin, the rest saying, that they had taken that oath already: this oath was prepared in writing, and was to this effect: 'That they should neither directly or indirectly disclose any thing of that which should be then said unto them, nor think themselves

[a] Divers Depositions and Letters appertaining to the Remonstrance, May 19, 1642. 4to, Lond. 1642; Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 256.

was greatly to his disadvantage.—The Irish rebellion was another unlucky event for Charles: it excited in his subjects great fears

absolved from the secrecy enjoined by this oath, by any other oath which should be afterwards taken by them.'—After this Mr. Percy made his propositions, which he read out of a paper, which were to this effect: 'That the army should be presently put into a posture to serve the king, and then should send up a declaration to the parliament of these particulars, viz. That nothing should be done in parliament contrary to any former act of parliament, which was explained, that bishops should be maintained in their votes and functions, and the king's revenue be established.' From these propositions none of Mr. Percy's company did declare themselves to dissent. Then came into consideration, if the army should not immediately be brought to London, which, as this examinate remembers, was first propounded by Mr. Jermin, and also the making sure of the Tower. These things this examinate did urge, to shew the vanity and danger of the other propositions, without undertaking this. In the conclusion, this examinate did protest against his having any thing to do in either design; for the proof of which he appeals to the consciences of them that were present, and so parted with them. About this business this examinate saith, that they had two meetings, and cannot distinguish what passed at the one, and what at the other; but the result of all was as he formerly declared[a]."—No wonder then if the house of commons, on this and more such evidence, were greatly alarmed (especially as six or eight of the chief conspirators fled): no wonder they were under apprehensions of their own

[a] Divers Depositions and Letters appertaining to the Remonstrance, May 19, 1642. 4to. Lond. 1642; Rushworth. vol. IV. p. 256.

and jealousies, and subjected him to many reproaches. Whether or how far he excited or encouraged it, I will, with all the

danger, and distrusted the sincerity of Charles in all the concessions he had made. For it is plain he was privy to a design against them, and would gladly have brought them to have desisted from any thing displeasing to him, though by a military force; and consequently would either have dissolved them, or rendered them useless to the public.—I have given the account of this affair in the very words of two of the gentlemen engaged in it, in order that the reader may the better be able to judge of the following passage in lord Clarendon. " It will hardly be believed hereafter (but that the effects of such impostures have left such deep marks), that the evidence then given could, in so grave and judging an assembly as an high court of parliament till then had always been, have brought the least prejudice upon the king; or, indeed any damage to any person accused: there being, in all the testimonies produced, so little show of proof of a real design, or plot, to bring up the army (which was the chief matter alledged) to awe the parliament, that in truth it was very evident there was no plot at all; only a free communication between persons (the major part whereof were of the house) of the ill arts that were generally used to corrupt the affections of the people; and of some expedient, whereby, in that so publick infection, the army (in which they had all considerable commands, two of them being general officers) might be preserved from being wrought upon and corrupted; in which discourse colonel Goring himself, as appeared by his own examination, only proposed wild and extravagant overtures of bringing up the army, and surprising the Tower; which was by all the rest, with manifest dislike, rejected: that all this

impartiality I am master of, enquire[65].

had passed at one meeting, in which they, who met, were so ill satisfied in one another, that they never would come together again. That when the bringing up the army to London was once talked of before the king, his majesty would not hear of it; but only desired that their affections might be kept entire for his service, as far as was consistent with the laws of the land, which were in danger to be invaded[a]." It is a sad thing when writers cannot relate facts as they were, but polish and file them, to render them more serviceable to party purposes! Such representations as this of lord Clarendon's, border more on romance than history. Bishop Burnet's reflections on lord Clarendon's account of this matter, appear to me very judicious.—" Whosoever," says he, " compares the depositions in Rushworth with the account given of that matter by the earl of Clarendon, will see there is a great deal more in the one, than the other is willing to believe; though he acknowledges, they had both Goring's evidence and Piercy's letter with them. I will not take upon me to determine whether they believed too much, or the earl of Clarendon too little. It is certain, they believed all that was in the depositions, and a great deal more, for Goring being continued in the government of Portsmouth, and his father being advanced from being a baron to be an earl; and Piercy's being made a lord, and master of the horse to the prince of Wales, made them conclude they had suppressed a great deal, instead of saying more than was true. This stuck deep in their hearts, and at last fatally broke out in the demand of the militia, that brought on the war[b]."

[65] Whether Charles excited or encouraged the Irish

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 268. [b] Speech at Sacheverel's Tryal, p. 11. 8vo. Lond. 1710.

Certain it is, the professions of the rebels,

rebellion—I shall enquire.] The Irish rebellion was one of the most shocking things in history. A design was laid by a great number of the Irish nobility, gentry, and others, to seize the castle of Dublin on the 23d of Oct. 1641, and possess the city; and they had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there likewise at the same time. The first part of the design, being discovered the night before, failed; but the latter was put in execution, as far as lay in their power. "The first and most bloody executions (says Sir John Temple, father of Sir William Temple, at this time master of the rolls, and a privy counsellour in Ireland) were made in the province of Ulster, and there they continued longest to execute their rage and cruelty; yet must it also be acknowledged, that all the other three provinces did concur with them, as it were, with one common consent, to destroy and pluck up by the roots all the British planted thorowout the kingdom. And for this purpose, they went on not only murdering, stripping, and driving out all of them, men, women and children; but they laid waste their habitations, burnt their evidences, defaced in many places all the monuments of civility and devotion, the courts and places of English government; nay, as some of themselves express it, they resolved not to leave them either name or posterity in Ireland[a]." The earl of Castlehaven, a catholic, calls it a rebellion; and adds, "all the water in the sea cannot wash it off that nation [the Irish], it having been begun most bloodily on the English in that kingdom, in a time of settled peace, without the least occasion given[b]." Lord Clarendon also relates, "That great multitudes of the

[a] History of the Irish Rebellion. 8vo. Lond. 1679. [b] Preface to his Memoirs, printed in 12mo. Lond. 1680.

of zeal for the king, and hatred of the par-

Irish Roman catholicks in the province of Ulster, and shortly after in other provinces and parts of the kingdom, tumultuously assembled together, put themselves in arms, seized upon the towns, castles, and houses belonging to the protestants, which by their force they could possess themselves of; and with most barbarous circumstances of cruelty, within the space of less than ten days, murthered an incredible number of protestants, men, women, and children, promiscuously, without distinction of age or sex, of any who were within reach of their power. They who escaped best, were robbed of all they had, to their very shirts, and so turned naked, to endure the sharpness of the season; and by that means, and for want of relief, many thousands of them perished by hunger and cold[a]."——Various are the accounts given us of the numbers that perished in this barbarous massacre. Mr. Hume observes, "That, by some computations, those who perished by all those cruelties, are made to amount to a hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand men: by the most moderate, and probably the most reasonable account, they must have been near forty thousand[b]." It were to be wished Mr. Hume had told us where this moderate, reasonable account is to be found: for my own part, I have sought for it in vain. Those who, one would think, should have been best informed, make a very different calculation. Milton, in the second edition of his Iconoclastes, has the following passage: "The rebellion and horrid massacre of English protestants in Ireland, to the number of 154,000 in the province of Ulster only, by their own computation; which added

[a] History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland. 8vo. Lond. 1720.
[b] History, p. 300.

liament, and the manner of Charles's be-

to the other three, makes up the total sum of that slaughter, in all likelihood, four times as great[a]." According to this computation, the numbers must have been 616,000. This probably is much too large. —May says, "the persons murthered within the space of one month were about 200,000[b]."—Sir John Temple, who had the best means of information, assures us, "That since the rebellion first broke out, unto the time of the cessation made Sept. 15, 1643, which was not full two years after, above 300,000 British and protestants were cruelly murthered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the strictest conjecture and computation of those who seemed best to understand the numbers of English planted in Ireland, besides those few that perished in the heat of fight, during the war[c]." The earl of Castlehaven indeed, who had been of council with the Irish, and a leader of their armies, endeavours to maintain against Sir John and others, "That not a twentieth part of the English protestants, who were said to be massacred, were really murthered in that rebellion, many hundreds of those, who are in Sir John's lists of the slain, being known to be alive several years after his report was made; and his sum total far exceeds the produce of his particulars, though (in several places, to magnify his numbers) he repeats the same names of persons, with the same circumstances of their sufferings[d]."—It is not my business to enter into a controversy about the number destroyed in this massacre: take it at the

[a] First published in 1650, reprinted at London for A. Millar, 1756. 4to. p. 49. [b] History, b. ii. p. 4. [c] History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 12. [d] Nicholson's Irish Historical Library, p. 58. 8vo. Dublin, 1724.

haviour towards them, helped not a little to

lowest, it is large, and almost incredible, had we not such incontestable authority for it.—" This rebellion," says Perinchief, " yielded fresh matter of reproach to his majesty, to whose councils, at first secretly, they [the faction in the English parliament] whispered, and at last publicly imputed, that horrid massacre: which slanders were coloured by the arts of the Irish rebels, who, to dishearten the English from any resistance, bragged that the queen was with their army; that the king would come amongst them with auxiliary forces; that they did but maintain his cause against the puritans; that they had the king's commission for what they did; shewing indeed a patent that themselves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an old broad seal that had been taken from an obsolete patent out of Farnham-abbey, by one Plunket, in the presence of many of their lords and priests, as was afterwards attested by the confession of many[a]."——The same aspersions are taken notice of in the Icon Basilike: " It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some men's malice against me, that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to myself, and destructive to my subjects. Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed that what the Irish rebels did, was done with my privity (at least), if not by my commission. But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my subjects to fight, not only without my commission, but against my command and person too: yet all the while to pretend they fight by

[a] Life of K. Charles, p. 19.

hinder a reconciliation between him and his people.

my authority, and for my safety." And in the paragraph before, is observed, that "that sea of blood, which hath been there [in Ireland] cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in both eternal infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious author or instigator of its effusions [a]." The king, we see, according to these writers, was greatly abused, when considered as one privy to the Irish rebellion.—Burnet also tells us, "That the earl of Essex told him, that he had taken all the pains he could to enquire into the original of the Irish massacre; but could never see any reason to believe the king had any accession to it. He did indeed believe, that the queen hearkened to the propositions made by the Irish, who undertook to take the government of Ireland into their hands, which they thought they could easily perform: and then, they said, they would assist the king to subdue the hot spirits at Westminster. With this the plot of the insurrection began; and all the Irish believed the queen encouraged it. But in the first design there was no thought of a massacre: that came in their head as they were laying methods of executing it, so as those were managed by the priests, they were the chief men that set on the Irish to all the blood and cruelty that followed [b]."

Mr. Hume suggests the following arguments, to prove that Charles had no hand in the Irish rebellion.

1. "Ought the affirmation of perfidious infamous rebels ever to have passed for any authority?

2. "Nobody can tell us what the words of the pretended commission was. That which we find in Rush-

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 671. [b] Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. I. p. 60.

But that which had as great an influence

worth's and in Milton's works, Toland's edition, is plainly an imposture; because it pretends to be dated in October 1641, yet mentions facts which happened not till some months after. It appears that the Irish rebels, observing some inconsistence in their first forgery, were obliged to forge this commission anew, yet could not render it coherent nor probable.

3. "Nothing could more obviously be pernicious to the king's cause, than the Irish rebellion; because it increased his necessities, and rendered him still more dependent on the parliament, who had before sufficiently shewn on what terms they would assist him.

4. "The instant the king heard of the rebellion, which was a very few days after its commencement, he wrote to the parliament, and gave over to them the management of the war. Had he built any projects on that rebellion, would he not have waited some little time to see how they would succeed? Would he presently have adopted a measure which was obviously so hurtful to his authority?

5. "What can be imagined to be the king's projects? To raise the Irish to arms, I suppose, and bring them over to England for his assistance. But is it not plain, that the king never intended to raise war in England? Had that been his intention, would he have rendered the parliament perpetual? Does it not appear by the whole train of events, that the parliament forced him into the war?

6. "The king conveyed to the justices intelligence, which ought to have prevented the rebellion.

7. "The Irish catholics, in all their future transactions with the king, where they endeavour to excuse their insurrection, never had the assurance to plead his commission; even amongst themselves they dropped

as any thing in widening the breach be-

that pretext. It appears that Sir Phelim O'Neale chiefly, and he only at first, promoted that imposture.

8. " O'Neale himself confessed the imposture on his tryal, and at his execution.

9. " It is ridiculous to mention the justification which Charles II. gave to the marquis of Antrim, as if he had acted by his father's commission. Antrim had no hand in the first rebellion and massacre. He joined not the rebels till two years after, and he performed important services to the king, in sending over a body of men to Montrose[a]."

Thus have I given the reasons alleged by the friends of Charles, to prove he had no hand in the Irish rebellion. The impartiality of history requires a representation of the arguments alleged against him, on this head, by his adversaries.—The reader will remember, that I am no ways answerable for the conclusiveness of the one side or the other.

1. It is affirmed, that the king was ever friendly to the Irish papists. Milton, who alleges many proofs of it, may be consulted by the inquisitive reader[b]. I will add one or two, which I suppose fell not within his knowledge.

The earl of Antrim, in a letter to lord Wentworth, dated York-house, July 17, 1638, has the following passage: " The marquis [of Hamilton] informs me, that the lord of Lorne, who possesses part of my predecessors lands (being the nearest parts of Scotland to Ireland), is providing men and arms with all the power he has, which he says and gives out is to encounter me. This man is my enemy, and what his intentions are I do not know; but I thought, upon

[a] History of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 304. in the note. [b] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 445.

this intelligence, to move the king for arms for his majestie's service, and the better defence of my country[a]." This, I suppose, he did, and his request was complied with by his majesty. For in a letter from Wentworth to the king, dated Dublin, 28th July, 1638, we have the following passage. "The earl of Antrim shall be observed, as your majesty hath directed. I wish his performance may answer the expectation it seems is had of him. For me, that must in all particulars unloose my heart towards all other respects, as oft as I am honoured to be heard by my gracious master, I neither hope much of his parts, of his power, or of his affections. His lordship lately writ to me to be furnished of arms, and that the magazine for them might be kept at Coleraine. Communicate this with the council here I durst not; for I am sure they would never advise such a strength to be intrusted with a grandchild of the earl of Tyrone: and for myself, I hold it unsafe any store of arms should lye so near the great Scotish plantations in those parts; lest, if their countrymen grow troublesome, and they partake of the contagion, they might chance to borrow those weapons of his lordship for a longer time, and another purpose, than his lordship would find cause to thank them for. They are shrewd children, not won much by courtship, especially from a Roman catholick. I beseech your majestie's further directions in this particular, which shall be obeyed[b]." It appears indeed, that Wentworth had no good opinion of Antrim's designs; for in a letter, written to his majesty the 11th of August following, speaking of some troops newly raised, he says, "If the earl of Antrim hear of the raising of these troops, your majesty will have him a suitor for one; but I beseech you he

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 184. See also a passage from lord Wentworth in the note 55. [b] Id. p. 187.

may not be admitted, as a thing that would be displeasing to all the English on this side: his religion, nor yet his descent (being the grand-child and son of your majesty knows whom), sort not well with it; and I am upon very probable reason for believing, that in the way of pretending service, but doing nothing for your majesty, he attentively watcheth to do something for his own fortune and power, for which hereafter to thank himself far more than your majesty [a]."

The king was far enough from being moved by these representations from his purposes of kindness to Antrim; for in a letter, written from Woodstock the 30th of the same month, to the lord deputy, he expresses himself as follows:—"There rests nothing but the particular of the earl of Antrim to answer, whose professions have been so free and noble at this time, that (as I have promised) indeed he deserves to be recommended to you; which at his coming over to you, I wish you to take notice of to him. But to have the command of a magazine of arms, I leave to you and the council there to judge how far ye will trust any one in that kind, of his profession in religion. To conclude this, I would have you favour and countenance him as much as any one of his profession in religion [b]."

In a letter, written the 25th of Jan. following, his majesty tells the lord deputy, "That he should be glad if he could find some way to furnish the earl of Antrim with arms, though he be a Roman catholick; for he may be of much use to me at this time, to shake loose upon the earl of Argyle [c]."

Lord Wentworth again and again represented the earl as poor, unexperienced, incapable of conducting any important affair, and withal mischievously bent. But his orders from the king were express, and there was no farther room for refusing him. "If it be pos-

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 204. [b] Id. p. 211. [c] Id. p. 275.

sible," says the king in another letter, written Ap. 11, 1639, to the lord deputy, "it is most fit that Antrim be set upon Argyle, and I shall no ways despair of the success, so that you lead the design, whereof I find him most desirous. Therefore I desire you not to shun it, but to assist him all you can in it[a]." "Upon the receipt of his majestie's letter, lord Antrim sent to the O'Neales, O'Haras, the O'Lurgans, (if I mistake not that name," says lord Wentworth), "the Mac Gennises, the Mac Guyres, the Mac Mahons, the Mac Donnels, (as many Oes and Macs as would startle a whole council-board on this side to hear of) and all his other friends, requiring them, in his majestie's name, to meet him with their forces; so as this business now is become no secret, but the common discourse both of his lordship and the whole kingdom[b]."

Lord Wentworth still continued to represent the folly of his undertakings, and the danger of trusting him with power. At length his majesty ordered secretary Windebank to write him word, "That his reasons against the work itself, in the way he [Antrim] proposed it, and the dangerous consequences it must necessarily produce, are very solid and unanswerable: nevertheless," adds he, "his majesty will not have the earl discouraged, but rather heartened as much as may be; and likes your lordships advice in the end of your dispatch very well, that the designs may rest till the next spring; and in the mean time so carried, as neither the earl be discouraged, nor set at liberty from his undertaking, but that such use may be made of him as may be for the advantage of his majestie's service[c]."

But farther, the favour in which the Irish catholics were with the king, appears from an extravagant grant made by him to the earl of St. Alban's and Clanricard:

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 318. [b] Id. p. 320. [c] Id. p. 322.

" a grant of divers lands and tenements of a large extent and value, containing a great part of the county of Galway, where the people, besides their idleness and want of manufactures, were in a manner wholly Popish and Irish, not a Protestant or Englishman of note in the whole county, extreamly addicted in their affections to Spain, and accommodated with fit harbours to comply with them[a]." The lord deputy and council drew up a very strong remonstrance against the carrying it into execution; in which, among many other things, it is observed, that " It hath been the constant endeavour of this state [the Irish] to break the dependences which great lords draw to themselves, of followers, tenants, and neighbours, and make the subject to hold immediately of the crown, and not to be liable to the distresses of great lords; which course, if it be useful in other parts of this kingdom, is most necessary here. For partly by reason of this earl's large patents, and many tenures on him thereby granted; partly by his commission of presidency in that county, which makes him little less or other than a count palatine; and partly by the power which the popish clergy have with the people there; this state hath found very little obedience in any thing wherein that earl and clergy have not been pleased to concur, and in future times the danger thereof may be sooner felt than prevented, as by some examples in our neighbour kingdom we may easily foresee[b]." But his majesty's pleasure was to have the grant passed, notwithstanding all that could be alleged; though, in the opinion of the lord deputy, " he had much better have given him one hundred thousand pounds out of his coffers in ready money[c]."

3. It is alleged that Charles's good affections to the rebels is manifest, from the tenderness with which he always spoke of and treated them. There was no pro-

[a] Strafforde's Letters, vol. II. p. 366. [b] Id. p. 367. [c] Id. p. 425.

clamation ordered against the rebels till January 1641, and when it was printed, then it was of little effect: for his majesty expressly commanded the printer "to print not above forty copies, and to forbear to make any further publication of them till his pleasure be further signified[a]."—Mr. Wood, speaking of Sir Edward Walker, says, that "with great diligence and observation he had committed to writing, in a paper-book, the several occurrences that passed in the king's army, and the victories obtained by his majesty over his rebellious subjects, the book was seized on at the battle of Naseby, by some of the forces belonging to the parliament, then victors. Afterwards it was presented to their general, called Sir Thomas Fairfax, who perusing it, found one passage therein, which was very observable to him, viz. That whereas he [Walker] had taken occasion to speak of the Irish, and called them rebels; his majesty, who before that time had perused the book, did, among several alterations made therein with his own hand, put out the word rebels with his pen, and over it wrote Irish[b]."—Milton observes, that "this chapter [concerning the Irish rebellion, in the Icon Basilike], if nothing else, may suffice to discover his good affections to the rebels; which, in this that follows, too notoriously appears; imputing this insurrection to 'the preposterous rigour and unreasonable severity, the covetous zeal and uncharitable fury of some men;' (these 'some men' by his continual paraphrase, are meant the parliament); 'and lastly, to the fear of utter extirpation.' If the rebels had fee'd some advocate to speak partially and sophistically in their defence, he could hardly have dazzled better; yet, nevertheless, would have proved himself no other than a plausible deceiver[c]."

[a] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 473.
[b] Wood's Fasti, vol. II. c. 17.
[c] Milton's Prose Works.

4. "Mac Mahoun, who was to join the lord Mac Guire for the surprising the castle of Dublin, being taken and examined at the rack, confessed that the original of the rebellion was brought to them out of England by the Irish committee, employed to his majesty for the redress of grievances [a]."

5. Stress was laid by the lords and commons on "the general profession of the rebels in all parts of that kingdom [Ireland], that the cause of their rising was to preserve his majesty and the queen from being oppressed by the puritan parliament, and that it was by their consent. That they knew well the best in England would side with them; that they had good warrant in black and white for what they did. Their calling the English army parliament-rogues, and traitors to the queen; and telling them, at the beginning of the rebellion, before any appearances of war here, that ere long they should see England as much in blood as Ireland then was. That they had their party in England and Scotland, which should keep both kingdoms so busy at home, that they should not send any aid against them; with a multitude of such like expressions from the Irish of the best quality and degree."

6. Mr. Jephson, a member of the house of commons, at a conference before both houses, delivered himself in these words: "At my late being at Oxford, finding the lord Dillon and the lord Taaffe in favour at court, I acquainted the lord Faulkland, his majesty's secretary, that there were two lords about the king, who, to his majesty's great dishonour, and the great discouragement of his good subjects, did make use of his majesty's name to encourage the rebels: to make this appear, I informed him, that I had seen two letters, sent by the lord Dillon and the lord Taaffe, to the lord of Muskerie,

[a] Rushworth, vol. V. p. 349.

the chief man in rebellion in Munster, and one of the Irish committee sent into England, intimating, that though it did not stand with the conveniency of his majestie's affairs to give him publick countenance, yet that his majesty was well pleased with what he did, and would in time give him thanks for it (or near to that purpose); that these letters were seen by the lord Inchiquine, the chief commander of the English forces in Munster, and by his secretary, who had kept copies of them; and that I was ready to justify as much. Whereupon the lord Faulkland was pleased to say, that they deserved to be hanged. But though I staid there at Oxford about a week after this discovery made, I never was called to any farther accompt, nor any prejudice done to these two lords; but they had the same freedom in court as before, for aught I could observe or hear to the contrary [a]."

7. The earl of Leicester, being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland by his majesty, was desired by the parliament speedily to repair thither. Whereupon he waited on his majesty at York to receive his instructions; but he was for a long time put off with words; and not only so, "but the king being informed that there were certain draught-horses provided to be sent into Ireland, his majesty told him he must have them for his own use.—Leicester strongly remonstrated against it; but in vain: for the king gave a warrant to fetch the horses, and commanded one Errington on his allegiance to execute it [b]."

On this head it is farther alleged, "That the parliament and adventurers having designed 5000 foot, and 500 horse, for the relief of Munster, under the command of lord Wharton—and when nothing was wanting but a commission to the lord Wharton, to enable him for that service, no commission could be obtained

[a] Rushworth, vol. V. p. 350. [b] Id. p. 14.

from his majesty; by reason whereof, Limerick was wholly lost, and the province of Munster in great distress. That clothes, provided by the parliament for the troops in Ireland, were seized by his majesty's officers here in England. That his majesty's forces were so quartered in and about the common roads to Ireland, that neither money, clothes, victuals, or other provision could pass thither by land with any safety. That captain Kettleby the admiral, and Sir Henry Stradling the vice-admiral of the ships, which were directed to lie upon the coast of Ireland, to annoy the rebels, and to prevent the bringing to them ammunition and relief from foreign parts, were both called away from that employment by his majesty's command; and by reason of their departure from the coast of Munster, the rebels there had received powder, ammunition, and relief from foreign parts[a]." Whoever would see more on this subject, may consult the answer of the house of commons to his majesty's message of the 13th of Aug. 1642, from which the above is extracted.

8. The cessation made by the rebels, Sept. 1643, after the war had been carried on "by the English from the first landing of their forces out of England, with so great success, as that, in all the encounters they had with the rebels during that time, they never received any scorn or defeats; but went on victoriously, beating them down in all parts of the kingdom[b]."— "This cessation," says lord Clarendon, "made and continued with those rebels, though prudently, charitably, and necessarily entered into [were not the English always victorious], had been the most unpopular act the king had ever done, and had wrongfully contributed to the reputation of the two houses of parliament[c]."

[a] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 776. [b] Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 332. [c] Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland, p. 66.

Lord Lansdown, speaking of this same affair, calls it "that fatal cessation with the rebels, as much exclaimed against by the king's friends at Oxford, as by his enemies at Westminster[a]." By this cessation a good part of the regiments sent to Ireland was called back, and in a manner forced to fight against the parliament of England.—Milton, with great seeming force, presses Charles on this head in the following words. "That we may yet see further how much he was their friend, after that the parliament had brought them every where either to famine, or a low condition, he, to give them all the respite and advantages they could desire, without advice of parliament, to whom he himself had committed the managing of that war, makes a cessation; in pretence to relieve the protestants 'overborne there with numbers,' but, as the event proved, to support the papists, by diverting and drawing over the English army there, to his own service here against the parliament; for that the protestants were then on the winning hand, it must needs be plain; who notwithstanding the miss of those forces, which at their landing here mastered, without great difficulty, great part of Wales and Cheshire, yet made a shift to keep their own in Ireland[b]."

9. The employing the earl of Glamorgan to negotiate with the rebels, in order to bring over a body of them for his service against the parliament of England, has been deemed no way favourable to the character of Charles in this affair.

The negotiations of Glamorgan with the pope's nuntio are very curious: the truth of them cannot, I think, well be doubted by the considerate and impartial reader of the Enquiry into the Share which K. Charles I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, and the

[a] Lansdown's Works, vol. II. p. 193. 12mo. Lond. 1736. [b] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 448.

Appendix lately added. To these I must refer such as chuse to have information on this head[a].

10. Charles II. in a letter directed to the duke of Ormond and the lords of the council in Ireland, dated July 10th, 1663, says expressly, that the "referees, after several meetings, and perusal of what had been offered to them by the marquis [of Antrim], have reported to us, that they have seen several letters, all of them the hand-writing of our royal father, to the said marquis, and several instructions concerning his treating and joining with the Irish, in order to the king's service, by reducing to their obedience, and by drawing some forces from them for the service of Scotland. That besides the letters and orders under his majestie's hand, they have received sufficient evidence and testimony of several private messages and directions sent from our royal father, and from our royal mother, with the privity and with the directions of the king our father; by which they are persuaded, that whatever intelligence, correspondence, or actings the said marquis had with the confederate Irish catholicks, was directed or allowed by the said letters, instructions, and directions; and that it manifestly appears to them, that the king our father was well pleased with what the marquis did, after he had done it, and approved the same."—And again, says his majesty, "We cannot in justice but, upon the petition of the marquis of Antrim, and after the serious and strict inquisition into his actions, declare unto you, that we do find him innocent from any malice or rebellious purpose against the crown; and that what he did by way of correspondence, or compliance with the Irish rebels, was in order to the service of our royal father, and warranted by his instructions, and the trust reposed in him; and that the benefit thereof accrued to the service of the

[a] See also Castlehaven's Memoirs, p. 79.

tween his majesty and his parliament, was

crown, and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the marquis[a]."

If this account given by Charles II. be true, his father must have had more hand in the Irish rebellion than his friends could have wished. For though Mr. Hume is so very positive to the contrary, nothing is more certain than that Antrim had a hand in the first rebellion in Ireland.—Dr. Borlace says expressly, "that the marquis of Antrim, from the beginning, had passionately served them [the confederate catholicks] in their most intimate concerns[b]." Lord Clarendon, speaking of Antrim, says, "The rebellion drove his lady [the dowager of Villiers duke of Buckingham] from Ireland, to find a livelihood out of her own estate in England.—The earl of Antrim, who was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his wife, than he betook himself to the rebels[c]." If this is not sufficient, I observe further, that in the declaration of the lords and commons concerning the rise and progress of the Irish rebellion, dated July 25, 1643, we have the following words: "The earl of Antrim, a notorious rebel, was taken by the Scots army in Ulster, and imprisoned there, upon suspicion of high treason. To avoid his tryal, he brake prison, and fled into the north parts of England, and hath been with the queen at York a long time; from whence he was sent to the rebels of Ulster with secret instructions, and had ammunition assigned him by the queen's directions[d]." It was nothing near two years from the breaking out of the rebellion that

[a] See the Letter at large in Truth brought to Light, p. 21. See also Burnet, vol. I. p. 59. [b] History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 199. fol. Lond. 1680. [c] Clarendon, vol. IV. p. 607. [d] Rushworth, vol. V. p. 353.

the impeachment of the lord Kimbolton [66],

this was published to the world.——These are the principal arguments urged against Charles, on the head of the Irish rebellion. For his memory's sake, and for the credit of human nature, it were to be wished that they may have less real than seeming force. I know not that I have omitted any thing in his vindication: I may be mistaken; but if I have, it is merely through ignorance or inadvertency: for nothing is more mean and base than to attempt to conceal the truth of history. The reader here is carefully to remember, that those who think worst of this prince, do not suppose him consenting or even privy to the massacre. This is too black a thing for him to be charged with, even by his foes. But what is alleged against him is, that he excited the Irish to appear in arms, master the protestants, and help the king against his parliament.

[66] The impeachment of the lord Kimbolton, Denzil Holles, &c.] Charles, who never regarded the privileges of parliament, being greatly vexed to find that the stream ran against him, determined to avenge himself on those whom he deemed to be the authors of the opposition made to his will. For this end, Sir Edward Herbert, the king's attorney-general, by his majesty's command, accused the six above-mentioned persons of high treason. The lords, before whom Mr. attorney had appeared, sent notice to the commons, that some of their members had this charge advanced against them. At the same time information was also brought them, that several persons were sealing up the trunks, doors, and papers belonging to Mr. Pym, Mr. Holles, and the rest of the five members. The house of commons, on this news, made an order for the resisting those concerned in such proceedings, and detaining them in safe custody; and withal desired a

Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Strode, of

conference with the lords, touching the breach of privilege. Whilst this latter was in agitation, a serjeant at arms, being sent by the king, was admitted into the house, where he, in his majesty's name, demanded the five gentlemen, and told them, he was commanded to arrest them for high treason. The commons hereupon made an humble application to the king, but ordered the members to keep their seats in the house. Whereupon, on the 4th of January, 1641, information being given them that endeavours would be used that day to apprehend the five members, the house required them to depart. They had no sooner obeyed, than his majesty with his guards entered the house; "and as he passed up towards the chair he cast his eye on the right hand, near the bar of the house, where Mr. Pym used to sit; but his majesty not seeing him there (knowing him well), went up to the chair, and said, 'By your leave, Mr. speaker, I must borrow your chair a little;' whereupon the speaker came out of the chair, and his majesty stept up into it. After he had stood in the chair a while, casting his eye upon the members as they stood up uncovered, but could not observe any of the five members to be there; nor indeed were they easy to be discerned (had they been there) among so many bare faces, all standing up together[a]." Then his majesty made this speech.——"I am sorry for this occasion of my coming unto you: yesterday I sent a serjeant at arms, upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason; whereupon I did expect obedience, and not a message. And I must declare unto you, that albeit no

[a] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 475, 476, 477.

high treason, by the attorney-general, and his majesty's coming in person with a guard

king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your priviledges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of treason no person hath a priviledge. And therefore I am come to know, if any of these persons that were accused are here: for I must tell you, gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but treason) are here, I cannot expect that this house will be in the right way that I do heartily wish it: therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force; but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly: that whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it. I will trouble you no more; but tell you, I do expect, as soon as they come to the house, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own course to find them."

"When the king was looking about the house, the speaker standing below the chair, his majesty asked him, 'Whether any of these persons were in the house? whether he saw any of them? and where they were?' To which the speaker, falling on his knee, thus answered:

'May it please your majesty,

'I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and humbly beg your ma-

to demand them of the house. This greatly alarmed both houses of parliament, and made them cast about for their own secu-

jesty's pardon, that I cannot give any other answer than this, to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me.'

" The king having concluded his speech, went out of the house again, which was in great disorder; and many members cried out aloud, so as he might hear them, Priviledge! Priviledge! and forthwith adjourned till the next day, at one of the clock[a]." This action of his majesty's was, the next day, declared by " the house of commons to be a high breach of the rights and priviledge of parliament, and inconsistent with the liberties and freedom thereof[b]."

In short, the commons adjourned themselves for several days, and appointed a committee to sit in Guildhall. The king proclaimed the accused members traitors; but they were vindicated by the parliament, as well as protected and caressed by the city of London, who conducted them on the 11th of Jan. following, in great pomp to Westminster; from whence the king with his family had retired the day before to Hampton-court.—" It cannot be expressed," says Clarendon, " how great a change there appeared to be in the countenance and minds of all sorts of people, in town and country, upon these late proceedings of the king. They, who had before even lost their spirits, having lost their credit and reputation, except amongst the meanest people, who could never have been made use of by them, when the greater should forsake them; and so despaired of ever being able to compass their designs of malice or ambition (and some of them had

[a] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 476. See also Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 164. [b] Id. p. 167.

rity, as well as for what they deemed to be for the common good. The power, therefore, of the militia was strenuously demand-

resumed their old resolutions of leaving the kingdom); now again recovered greater courage than ever, and quickly found that their credit and reputation was as great as ever it had been, the court being reduced to a lower condition, and to more disesteem and neglect than ever it had undergone. All that they had formerly said of plots and conspiracies against the parliament, which had before been laughed at, was now thought true and real; and all their fears and jealousies looked upon as the effects of their great wisdom and foresight. All that had been whispered of Ireland, was now talked aloud and printed; as all other seditious pamphlets and libels were. The shops of the city generally shut up, as if an enemy were at their gates, ready to enter and to plunder them; and the people in all places at a gaze, as if they looked only for directions, and were then disposed for any undertaking [a]."

And afterwards he observes, "That from this day we may reasonably date the levying of war in England; whatsoever hath been since done, being but the superstructures upon those foundations which were then laid [b]." Mr. Hume also attributes "all the ensuing disorders and civil wars to this impeachment of lord Kimbolton and the five members [c]." Mr. Whitlock in like manner observes, "that this sudden action of the king's was the first visible and apparent ground of the ensuing troubles [d]." The author of Icon Basilike acknowledges the inconveniences brought on his majesty hereby in the following words: "My going to the house of commons to demand justice upon the five

[a] Clarendon, vol. IV. p. 377. [b] Id. p. 383. [c] Hume's History, p. 316. [d] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 53.

ed by them, and as stiffly refused by Charles. This gave rise to a civil war[67], which in a

members, was an act which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could. It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of my friends resented it as a motion rising rather from passion than reason, and not guided with such discretion as the touchiness of those times required[a]." Nor could less well be expected from such an action as this: for it was apparent to the whole world, that his majesty looked on these men as his enemies, merely on account of what they had done in parliament, in which the majority of the houses had concurred with them; and therefore every man who had thus concurred, had reason to expect the like treatment, the consequence of which could be nothing less than the destruction of the members, and the subversion of the liberties of the people. From Charles's treatment of Loudon[b], may be guessed how he would have used these members, had he once got them into his power.

[67] The disputes about the militia gave rise to a civil war.] Heylin, speaking concerning the king's going to the house and demanding the five members, says, "This was voted by the house of commons, for such an unexpiable breach of priviledge, that neither the king's qualifying of that action, nor his desisting from the prosecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction; nothing must satisfy their jealousies, and secure their fears, but the putting the Tower of London into their hands, together with the command of the royal navy, as also of the forts, castles, and the train bands of the kingdom, all comprehended under the name of the

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 650. [b] See note 57.

short time extended over the whole kingdom, divided friends and families, and filled

militia[a]." We are told also the same by Charles himself, when on the scaffold. "All the world knows that I never did begin a war first with the two houses of parliament; and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroach upon their priviledges: they began upon me; it is the militia they began upon; they confest that the militia was mine; but they thought it fit for to have it from me[b]." That the parliament thought it fit to have the militia from Charles, is evident. The preamble to the ordinance, concerning the militia, is in the following words: "Whereas there has been, of late, a most dangerous and desperate design upon the house of commons, which we have just cause to believe to be an effect of the bloody counsels of papists, and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland: and by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like rebellion and insurrections in this kingdom of England, but also to back them with forces from abroad: for the safety therefore of his majesty's person, the parliament and kingdom, in this time of imminent danger, it is ordained[c], &c." This was read and agreed to by the lords, Feb. 16, 1641; and ordered to be presented to the king by the lords Stamford and Grey.

Lord Clarendon says, "This ordinance was the most avowed foundation of all the miseries that followed[d]." Both houses of parliament made applications to his majesty to give his assent to it; but he refusing, they

[a] Life of Laud, p. 500. [b] King Charles's Works, p. 208.
[c] Parliamentary History, vol. XI. p. 285; Clarendon, vol. II. p. 431.
[d] Id. ib.

almost every corner with terror and blood-

very plainly tell him, in a declaration of March 1, 1641, "They are inforced, in all humility, to protest, that if your majesty shall persist in that denial, the dangers and distempers of the kingdom are such as will endure no longer delay: but unless you shall be graciously pleased to assure them, that you will speedily apply your royal assent to the satisfaction of their former desires, they shall be enforced, for the safety of your majesty and your kingdoms, to dispose of the militia, by the authority of both houses, in such manner as hath been propounded to your majesty, and they resolve to do it accordingly[a]." The king, however, remained inflexible. Whereupon it was resolved by the commons, and assented to by the lords, "That the kingdom be put forthwith into a posture of defence, by authority of parliament, in such a way as is already agreed on by both houses[b]." Accordingly, the ordinance passed the house of lords on the 5th of the same month, the king's name and authority being wholly left out of it. It would be tiresome to the reader to mention what farther passed on this subject. Those who are desirous of information, may consult Rushworth's Collections, or the Parliamentary History. All I shall say more is, that the parliament proceeding in settling the militia, and requiring persons concerned to put it in execution, the king forbad it, and on the contrary sent forth his commission of array, which by the two houses was declared to be illegal. Thus some obeying the king, others the parliament, oppositions arose, and blows ensued, till at last the whole kingdom was involved in blood.

In the passage above quoted, Charles declares, "That the parliament confessed that the militia was

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 327. [b] Id. p. 329.

shed. To such an unhappy state were we

his; but they thought it fit to have it from him." This is not an exact representation of their opinion. For though Mr. Palmer, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Bridgman, and divers others, eminent lawyers and gentlemen, gave their opinions positively against the bill, and left the house upon the passing of it; yet "the lord Littleton [lord keeper] was most confident for the legality of it, and divers other lawyers and gentlemen of the short robe were clearly for it: and that the lords and commons, in case of the king's minority, sickness, or absence, had done the same[a]." However, it must be confessed the parliament, had they not been urged by considerations of their own and the kingdom's safety, probably would never have thought of assuming this power. For Whitlock tells us it was urged, as arguments in favour of the parliament's passing the ordinance, "That the business of Ireland, and other threatning dangers, gave too much cause of fears and jealousies to the parliament, and to stand upon their guard, and for defence of themselves and the kingdom: without which the king would so grow upon them, and his evil counsellors so prevail, that they would undoubtedly bring their designs to pass, of a speedy introducing of popery and tyranny; whereas, if they saw the parliament in a good posture of defence, and that the people would generally adhere to them, as no doubt but that they would, that then the king would be brought to a good accommodation and agreement with his parliament, without a blow to be struck between them: whereby they should preserve the just rights and liberties of the subject, the priviledge of parliament, and themselves and their friends, and the protestant religion, from ruin; which, without this appearance only

[a] Whitlock, p. 59.

then reduced! However, the motives on

of arms, or power to arm, if there should be occasion, would unavoidably be brought to pass."—And he farther tells us, "That the most powerful and active members solemnly protested, that they had not the least purpose or intention of any war with the king, but to arm themselves for their necessary defence[a]."—In short, they thought they had great reason to distrust his majesty; and, thinking this, it is no wonder they should endeavour to provide for their own security. In the answer to his majesty's message from Newmarket, we have the following words, which merit the attention of the reader. "To your majestie's next question, whether you had denied any bill for the ease and security of your subjects? we wish we could stop in the midst of our answer, That with much thankfulness we acknowledge that your majesty hath passed many good bills, full of contentment and advantage to your people: but truth and necessity enforce us to add this, that, even in or about the time of passing those bills, some design or other hath been on foot, which, if it had taken effect, would not only have deprived us of the fruit of those bills, but have reduced us to a worse condition of confusion than that wherein the parliament found us[b]." This was a home-thrust. Milton, speaking on this subject, has the following passage: "He [Charles] was also raising forces in London, pretendedly to serve Portugal, but with intent to seize the Tower; into which divers cannoneers were by him sent, with many fireworks and granadoes, and many great battering pieces were mounted against the city. The court was fortified with ammunition, and soldiers new listed, who followed the king from London, and appeared at Kingston some hundreds of

[a] Whitlock, p. 59.

[b] Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 376.

which this war was entered into by the par-

horse in a warlike manner, with waggons of ammunition after them: the queen in Holland was buying more, of which the parliament had certain knowledge, and had not yet so much as demanded the militia to be settled, till they knew both of her going over sea, and to what intent. For she had packed up the crown-jewels to have been going long before, had not the parliament, suspecting by the discoveries at Burrow-bridge what was intended with the jewels, used means to stay her journey till the winter. Hull, and the magazine there, had been secretly attempted under the king's hand; from whom (though in his declarations renouncing all thought of war) notes were sent over sea for supply of arms, which were no sooner come, but the inhabitants of Yorkshire and other counties were called to arms, and actual forces raised, while the parliament were yet petitioning in peace, and had not one man listed[a]." Those who are acquainted with the history of these times, know there is some truth in what is here asserted, and therefore will not wonder at the resolution of the parliament to hinder the king from executing his intentions. For, by the law of nature, all have a right to defend themselves, and to make use of the means in their power. Nor could it reasonably have been expected by Charles, that those who had been ruled by him without and against law, and whose destruction, as a free people, they were persuaded he still meditated, his promises notwithstanding: I say, it could not have been reasonably expected that people thus used, in times of extremity, should keep themselves within the exact bounds of law, and thereby defeat the end of the law, their preservation. Had Charles himself observed the laws to which he

[a] Iconoclastes, 2d edit. p. 41; and Parliamentary History, vol. XI. p. 359.

liament, have by many been deemed most just and generous[68]: though by others it

was sworn, and dealt sincerely in the concessions he had made in this parliament, he might have retained the power of the sword in his own hands; but when it was believed, upon very probable grounds, that he was, at heart, the same man he from the beginning of his reign had been; when those by whose care, industry, and public spirit he had been brought within bounds, were looked on with hatred by him, and marked out for destruction; when those who had counselled and advised him in his former illegal courses were the objects of his esteem and regard, and all this firmly believed by the managers in the two houses: are we to admire at, or blame their proceedings? It was human nature, and that not corrupted and depraved; but human nature as created by God himself, and as of right it ought to be, and as indeed it always will and must be, where it is not debased by vassalage and chains.

[68] The motives on which the parliament entered into the war, have been deemed just and generous.] Here are my authorities.—Lord Holles, who had borne so great a part in the transactions of these times, and had been so intimately acquainted with the prime managers in both houses, speaks as follows: "When in the beginning of this parliament, in the year 1642. after some progress in a parliamentary way to the relieving of many of our grievances, and reforming many abuses both in church and state (for which we were not sufficiently thankful), it pleased God, in his just judgment, for the punishment of our sins, to send a spirit of division between king and parliament; and things grew to that height, as both of them appealed to the sword to plead their cause, and decide their quarrel: the members of parliament who then engaged, declared them-

has been looked on as most base, wicked, and rebellious, being undertaken against

selves to desire nothing but the settlement of the kingdom, in the honour and greatness of the king, and in the happiness and safety of the people: and whensoever that could be obtained, to lay down the sword, and submit again to the king's sceptre of peace, more willingly than ever they resisted his force and power. This, I am sure, was the ultimate end of many; I may say, of the chiefest of those who at that time appeared: upon which principle they first moved, and from which they never departed; which made them at that time resolve to put their lives in their hands, and offer them a sacrifice to the welfare and happiness of their prince and country: I say, prince as well as country, though he perhaps looked on them as his greatest enemies; but they considered him as their prince, whom nature, duty, the command of God, and the laws of men, obliged them to reverence, and to love as the head and father of the people, whose greatness consisted in his people's, and his people's in his; and therefore could be neither great nor happy, one without the other, which made those faithful ones put them both in the same balance, and rather adventure his displeasure by promoting the public cause, than (as they thought) his ruin by deserting it[a]." Lord Fairfax also plainly gives his reasons for engaging in the cause of the parliament. "I must needs say my judgment was for the parliament, as the king and kingdom's great and safest council; as others were averse to parliaments, because they did not go high enough for prerogative. Upon this division different powers were set up: the commission of array for the king, and the mi-

[a] Holles's Memoirs, p. 3.

the royal authority; and therefore has been

litia for the parliament. But those of the array, in oppressing many honest people, whom, by way of reproach, they called Roundheads, who, for their religion, estates, and interest, were a very considerable part of the country; which occasioned them to take up arms in their own defence, and it was afterwards confirmed by authority of parliament[a]."

What the motives to this war on the parliament's side were, will still farther appear from the votes and other public acts of that time. In the votes of the house of commons, assented to by the lords July 12, 1642, we have the following ones:

"Resolved, That an army shall be forthwith raised for the safety of the king's person, the defence of both houses of parliament, and of those who have obeyed their orders and commands; and for the preservation of the true religion, the laws, liberties, and peace of the kingdom.

"Resolved, That the earl of Essex be named general thereof.

"Resolved, That this house doth declare, that in this cause, for the safety of the king's person, and the defence of both houses of parliament, and of those who have obeyed their orders and commands, &c. they will live and die with the earl of Essex."

"And when the speaker of the house of lords acquainted the earl of Essex, That that house had agreed in the desires of the commons, and had approved of his lordship to be general, the earl hereupon gave their lordships thanks; professing his integrity and loyalty to the king to be as much as any, and that he would live and die with their lordships in this cause[b]."

[a] Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 94. 12mo. Lond. 1699.
[b] Parliamentary History, vol. XI. p. 268.

styled, by the same sort of men, by way of

And in the declaration of the grounds and reasons which necessitated the parliament to take up defensive arms, in August following, speaking of what they had done with regard to the militia, the fleet, and Hull, it is added, "And how necessary all this was to be done, the succeeding designs and practices upon them do all sufficiently manifest; and great cause hath the whole kingdom to bless God, who put it into the heads and hearts of the parliament to take care of these particulars: for were these pernicious persons about the king masters of them, how easy would it be for them to master the parliament, and master the kingdom? And what could we expect but ruin and destruction from such masters, who make the king revile and detest us and our actions? Such, who have embarked him in so many designs to overthrow this parliament? Such, who have long thirsted to see religion and liberty confounded together?—Afterwards they appeal to the world, whether it be not fit for them not only not to yield to what is required [with regard to the militia, &c.], but also to make further provision for the preservation of themselves, and of those who sent them hither, and entrusted us, say they, with all they have, estates, liberty, and life, and that which is the life of their lives, their religion; and even for the safety of the king's person, now environed by those who carry him upon his own ruin, and the destruction of all his people; at least, to give them warning that all this is in danger; that if the king may force this parliament, they may bid farewell to all parliaments from ever receiving good by them; and if parliaments be lost, they are lost, their laws are lost, as well those lately made as in former times; all which will be cut in sunder with the same sword now drawn for the de-

struction of this parliament[a]."——The reader will please to remember, that the commons had before passed the following votes:

"Resolved, upon the question, 20th of May, 1642, 1. That it appears that the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intends to make war against the parliament: who, in all their consultations and actions, have proposed no other end to themselves but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person.

"2. Resolved, That whensoever the king maketh war upon the parliament, it is a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of this government.

"3. Resolved, That whosoever shall serve or assist in such wars, are traitors by the fundamental laws of this kingdom; and have been so adjudged by two acts of parliament, and ought to suffer as traitors; 11 Rich. II. 1 Hen. IV[a]."

If what is asserted by the parliament, in their own behalf, be true; if what the lords Holles and Fairfax, men of untainted honour and veracity, say, be fact; then was the war on the parliament's part merely defensive, and undertaken from the most generous motives. And it is very remarkable, that the parliament's taking up arms against Charles I. was justified by that very house of commons which restored his son Charles II.

For "some exceptions being taken to some words spoken by Mr. Lenthall, a member of the house, in the debate of the bill of general pardon, to the effect following, viz. 'He that drew his sword first against the king, committed as high an offence as he that cut off the king's head:' Mr. Lenthall standing up

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XI. p. 357. [a] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 717.

in his place, explained himself, and withdrew. But it was resolved he should be called to the bar: and the serjeant, with the mace, went to Mr. Lenthall, who was withdrawn into the speaker's chamber, and brought him to the bar; where kneeling, Mr. speaker bid him rise, and after, according to the order of the house, gave him a sharp reprehension, to the effect following: 'The house hath taken very great offence at some words you have let fall, upon debate of the business of the bill of indemnity; which, in the judgment of this house, hath as high a reflection on the justice and proceedings of the lords and commons in the last parliament, in their actings before the year 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much poison in the words, and that they were spoken out of design to set this house on fire; they tending to render them that drew the sword to bring delinquents to condign punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties, into balance with them that cut off the king's head: of which act they express their abhorrence and detestation, appealing to God, and their conscience bearing them witness, that they had no thought against his person, much less against his life. Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out at any other time but in this parliament, or at any time in this present parliament but when they had considerations of mercy, pardon, and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer sentence, than I am now to pronounce. But the disposition of his majesty is to mercy: he hath invited his people to accept of it, and it is the disposition of the body of this house to be healers of the breaches, and to hold forth mercy to men of all conditions, so far as may stand with justice, and the justification of themselves before God and man. I am therefore commanded to let you know, that that being their disposition, and the present subject of this day's

emphasis, the Great Rebellion: how justly, will merit our enquiry [69].

debate being mercy, you shall therefore taste of mercy. Yet I am to give you a sharp reprehension, and I do as sharply and severely as I can (for so I am commanded) reprehend you for it [a]."

Nothing can be a stronger testimony to the justice and necessity of the proceedings of the lords and commons than this.

[69] It has been stiled the Great Rebellion: how justly, will merit our enquiry.] This is so generally known, that few proofs are necessary.

In 1642, we find Charles issued "a proclamation for suppressing of the present rebellion, under the command of Robert earl of Essex." In this proclamation, after reciting what had been done in pursuance of the votes on the militia, and the other votes mentioned in the two foregoing notes, he adds, "We do now therefore publish and declare, That the said publick and notorious acts and actions of high treason, being a manifest levying of war against his natural liege, lord and king, expressly within the words and meaning of the statute made in the 25th year of king Edward the Third, declaring the same, of which in law there neither is, nor can be, any doubt [b]." This was the public language of his majesty. We are not to wonder then, that the ecclesiastics of his court copied after him, and treated his opponents in like style. Chillingworth himself, truly a great man as he was, could not refrain from it. Hear his words.—"To come a little nearer to the business of our times, the chief actors in this bloody tragedy, which is now upon the stage, who have robbed

[a] Journal of the 12th day of May, 1660; apud Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth, p. 394. [b] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 769.

It would be tedious, as well as useless, to enter into the particulars of this war. Those

our sovereign lord the king of his forts, towns, treasure, ammunition, houses, of the persons of many of his subjects, and (as much as lies in them) of the hearts of all of them: is it credible, that they know and remember, and consider the example of David, recorded for their instruction? whose heart smote him, when he had but cut off the hem of Saul's garment. They that make no scruple at all of fighting with his sacred majesty, and shooting muskets and ordnance at him (which sure have not the skill to choose a subject from a king), to the extream hazard of his sacred person, whom, by all possible obligations, they are bound to defend: do they know, think you, the general rule, without exception or limitation, left by the Holy Ghost for our direction in all such cases, 'Who can lift up his hand against the lord's anointed, and be innocent?' Or do they consider his command in the proverbs of Solomon, 'My son, fear God and the king, and meddle not with them that desire change?' Or his counsel in the book of Ecclesiastes, 'I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God?' Or, because they may possibly pretend that they are exempted from, or unconcerned in, the commands of obedience delivered in the Old Testament, do they know and remember the precept given to all Christians by St. Peter, 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supream, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him?' Or that terrible sanction of the same command, 'They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation,' left us by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, who then were the miserable subjects of the worst king, the worst

who would know them, may consult the

man, nay, I think, I may add truly, the worst beast in the world; that so all rebels mouths might be stopt for ever, and left without all colour or pretence whatsoever, to justifie resistance of sovereign power? Undoubtedly, if they did know and consider, and lay close to their hearts, these places of scripture; or the fearful judgment which befell Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, for this very sin which they now commit, and with a high hand still proceed in; it would be impossible but their hearts would smite them, as David's did upon an infinitely less occasion, and affright them out of those ways of present confusion and eternal damnation[a]."

After the restoration of Charles II. in one of the public offices of devotion, this war is styled the Great Rebellion; and in the parliament called by that prince in 1661, among many other acts tending to advance the regal and ecclesiastical authority, we find one declaring the sole right of the militia to be in the king: in the preamble to which, it is affirmed, that "both or either of the houses of parliament cannot, nor ought to pretend to the same; nor can nor lawfully may raise, or levy any war offensive or defensive against his majesty, his heirs, or lawful successors[b]."

And in the act for the well governing and regulating of corporations, the following oath was ordained:

"I *A. B.* do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him: so help me God[c]." So ready were these gentlemen to rivet

[a] Sermon before the king at the end of the Religion of Protestants, p. 6. fol. Lond. 1664. [b] Stat. 13 Car. II. c. vi. [c] Stat. 13 Car. II. sess. 2. c. i. sect. 5.

common historians. Suffice it here to say,

chains on themselves and the nation! After this, nothing was heard of but the doctrine of passive obedience, and the damnable nature of resistance[a]. And the man who spoke any thing in the defence of the parliament, against Charles I. was shrewdly suspected to be, in his heart, a rebel to his successor[b].

But a time at length came, in which men's eyes were opened. James II. presuming that the nation had been lulled asleep by the declamations against resistance, attempted to perfect a scheme that his father and brother had failed in. He boldly acted contrary to the laws, and set at defiance the privileges of his people. He filled hereby with terror all orders and degrees of men, and put them on taking measures for their own security. They now saw the necessity of resistance; they in fact practised it, and were not at a loss to defend it by arguments irresistible. Such alterations are there in the opinions of the same men!—— But to return. Notwithstanding all the assertions in these acts of parliament, and the declamations of ecclesiastics, there are those who insist on it that this war cannot be deemed a rebellion.

1. "Those who seek after truth," says Mr. Sidney, "will easily find, that there can be no such thing in the world as the rebellion of a nation against its own magistrates, and that rebellion is not always evil. That this may appear, it will not be amiss to consider the word, as well as the thing understood by it, as it is used in an evil sense. The word is taken from the Latin *rebellare*, which signifies no more than to renew a war. When a town or province had been subdued by the Romans, and brought under their dominion, if they

[a] See History of Passive Obedience. 4to. p. 95; & *passim*. Amsterdam, 1689. [b] See Tryal of Stephen Colledge, p. 31. fol. Lond. 1681.

that the king erected his standard at Not-

violated their faith after the settlement of peace, and invaded their masters who had spared them, they were said to rebel. But it had been more absurd to apply that word to the people that rose against the *Decemviri*, kings or other magistrates, than to the Parthians, or any of those nations who had no dependance upon them; for all the circumstances that should make a rebellion were wanting, the word implying a superiority in them against whom it is, as well as the breach of an established peace. But though every private man, singly taken, be subject to the commands of the magistrate, the whole body of the people is not so; for he is by and for the people, and the people is neither by nor for him. The obedience due to him from private men, is grounded upon and measured by the general law; and that law, regarding the welfare of the people, cannot set up the interest of one or a few men against the publick. The whole body, therefore, of a nation cannot be tied to any other obedience than is consistent with the common good, according to their own judgment: and having never been subdued, or brought to terms of peace with their magistrates, they cannot be said to revolt or rebel against them, to whom they owe no more than seems good to themselves, and who are nothing of or by themselves, more than other men [a]."

2. It is asserted, "That whosoever takes up arms to maintain the politick constitution or government of his country in the condition it then is, I mean, to defend it from being changed or invaded by the craft or force of any man (although it be in the prince or chief magistrate himself), provided that such taking up of arms be commanded or authorized by those who are, by the

[a] Sidney of Government, p. 413. fol. Lond. 1698.

tingham, with little encouragement, on the

orders of that government, legally intrusted with the custody of the liberty of the people, and foundation of the government; this I hold to be so far from rebellion, that I believe it laudable, nay, the duty of every member of such commonwealth: for he who fights to support and defend the government he was born and lives under, cannot deserve the odious name of rebel, but he who endeavours to destroy it. If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixed monarchies in the world—wherein the prince hath his share, and the people their's; which last, if they had no means of recovering their rights, if taken from them, or defending them, if invaded, would be in the same estate as if they had no title to them, but lived under the empire of Turkey, or of Muscovy. And since they have no other remedy but by arms, and that it would be of ill consequence to make every private man judge when the rights of the people (to which they have as lawful a claim as the prince to his) are invaded, which would be apt to produce frequent and sometimes causeless tumults; therefore it hath been the great wisdom of the founders of such monarchies to appoint guardians to their liberty, which, if it be not otherwise expressed, is and ought to be understood to reside in the estates of the country; which, for that reason (as also to exercise their share in the sovereignty, as making laws, levying monies), are frequently assembled.—These are to assert and maintain the orders of the government, and the laws established, and (if it cannot be done otherwise) to arm the people, and to defend and repel the force that is upon them [a]."

[a] A Passage omitted out of Machiavel's Letter in Vindication of himself, and Writings, at the end of Barlow's Cases of Conscience, p. 39. 8vo. Lond. 1692.

twenty-fifth day of August, one thousand six hundred and forty-two; and that the

3. It is said, "There is doubtless a true distinction to be made between a rebellion and a civil war: the first is notorious, when subjects take up arms against lawful governors, lawfully governing; but where a prince violates the established laws of the nation, raises taxes by his own authority, contrary to the known rules of the constitution, invades the liberties of his subjects by illegal imprisonments, unjust prosecutions, and other grievous oppressions, and persists in such arbitrary acts of government for a course of years; if a people can find no other means to preserve their most valuable interests, but by having recourse to the last remedy, and shall take up arms to compel such a prince to restore their rights, and reform his ill government; 'tis evident, from the histories of the civil wars of France, and other countries, that grave and impartial historians have not thought fit to treat this way of opposing the unlawful usurpation of princes with the odious name of rebellion; and 'tis observed, that our parliaments have had the caution, that in the acts passed after the restoration, in relation to the preceding war between the king and parliament, they would never give it the name of a rebellion; doubtless out of the consideration that it behoved them to keep up the sanction of the parliamentary authority; and that that war was authorized by a legal parliament, who had right to vindicate the liberty of the nation.

"The names of reproach, which passed in these times, were Cavalier for those who sided with the king, and Roundheads for such as took part with the parliament: now if the intention of the latter were no other than to bring the evil counsellors to condign punishment, to prevail with the king to comply in a just set-

parliament raised an army, and constituted Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, their com-

tlement of their civil and religious liberties, and then to restore him to the regal state, under such limitations as might secure them from any future invasions of their rights and privileges (and this, I believe, was the general design of those that took up arms at first), I see no reason why those Roundheads should lie under an harder censure for what they acted at that time, than may be imputed to ourselves for what we have done in the late happy revolution, for the rescuing our laws and religion from the violations of the late king James[a]."

4. Mr. Locke observes, "That whosoever uses force without right, as every one does in society, who does it without law, puts himself into a state of war with those against whom he so uses it; and in that state all former ties are cancelled, all other rights cease, and every one has a right to defend himself, and to resist the aggressor.——Here, 'tis like, the common question will be made, who shall be judge whether the prince or legislative act contrary to their trust? This, perhaps, ill-affected and factious men may spread amongst the people, when the prince only makes use of his due prerogative. To this I reply, the people shall be judge: for who shall be judge whether his trustee or deputy acts well, and according to the trust reposed in him, but he who deputes him, and must, by having deputed him, have a power to discard him when he fails in his trust? If this be reasonable in particular cases of private men, why should it be otherwise in that of the greatest moment, where the welfare of mil-

[a] Faults on both Sides, p. 7. 8vo. Lond. 1710. [b] Locke on Government, p. 297.

mander in chief. However, it must not here be omitted, that though the war, in

lions is concerned, and also where the evil, if not prevented, is greater, and the redress very difficult, dear, and dangerous?

"But farther, this question (who shall be judge?) cannot mean that there is no judge at all. For where there is no judicature upon earth, to decide controversies amongst men, God in heaven is judge. He alone, 'tis true, is judge of the right; but every man is judge for himself, as in all other cases, so in this, whether another hath put himself into a state of war with him, and whether he should appeal to the supream Judge, as Jephtha did. If a controversy arise between a prince and some of his people, in a matter where the law is silent or doubtful, and the thing be of great consequence, I should think the proper umpire, in such a case, should be the body of the people. For in cases where the prince hath a trust reposed in him, and is dispensed from the common ordinary rules of the law; there, if any men find themselves aggrieved, and thinks the prince acts contrary to or beyond that trust, who so proper to judge as the body of the people (who at first lodged that trust in him) how far they meant it should extend? But if the prince, or whoever they be in the administration, decline that way of determination, the appeal then lies no where but to Heaven. Force between either persons, who have no known superior upon earth, or which permits no appeal to a judge on earth, being properly a state of war, wherein the appeal lies only to Heaven; and in that state the injured party must judge for himself, when he will think fit to make use of that appeal, and put himself upon it[a]."

[a] Locke on Government, p. 306.

the beginning, was carried on with various success on both sides, yet, for the most part,

5. Mr. Watson takes notice, "That the parliament of England were always more wise and good, than to raise armies against the kings who gave them no occasion to do so; and I cannot," says he, "but entertain this favourable opinion of that which began to sit in 1640. There is nothing more true than that the king wanted to govern by an arbitrary power: his whole actions shewed it, and he could never be brought to depart from this: either therefore his people must have submitted to the slavery, or they must have vindicated their freedom openly; there was no middle way. But should they have tamely received the yoke? No, surely; for had they done so, they had deserved the worst of evils; and the bitter effects thereof, in all probability, had not only been derived to us but our posterity. Happy Britons, that such a just and noble stand was made! May the memories of those great patriots that were concerned in it, be ever dear to Englishmen; and to all true Englishmen they will[a]."

These are the political considerations which are urged to manifest how improperly and absurdly this war is styled the Great Rebellion, even by men who applaud the revolution, and justify the force made use of to accomplish it. Well, therefore, might a very ingenious writer say, "Strange! that the English nation, who glory in their constitution as a limited monarchy, who have always been extreamly jealous of any incroachments on it, and who dethroned by force of arms and banished the son, for less breaches of the constitution than were made by this unhappy father; should yet stigmatize that just war, of the parliament with

[a] Apology of the Rev. John Watson, for his Conduct on the 30th Jan. p. 36. Lond. 1756. 8vo.

the advantage fell to the king[70]. This

Charles I. with the odious name of a rebellion; a war, by which alone their expiring liberties were preserved, and their beloved constitution snatched from the cruel arm of oppressive and arbitrary power[a]."

I have taken no notice of the objections urged from scripture by Chillingworth, and others. Those who would see their weakness, may consult Hoadly's Measures of Submission, and his other pieces in defence of the doctrine contained therein. The following quotation from May, will shew the reader at once that they affect not the case in hand. "That frequent naming of religion, as if it were the only quarrel, hath caused a great mistake of the question in some, by reason of ignorance, in others of subtlety; whilst they wilfully mistake, to abuse the parliament's case, as, instead of disputing whether the parliament of England lawfully assembled, where the king virtually is, may by arms defend the religion established by the same power, together with the laws and liberties of the nation, against delinquents, detaining with them the king's seduced person, they make it the question, whether subjects, taken in a general notion, may make war against their king for religion's sake[b]."

[70] For the most part the advantage fell to the king.] A few extracts from May will fully prove this, and at the same time give entertainment to the reader of taste and reflection.—"At the famous battle of Edghill," says he, "the great cause of English liberty (with a vast expence of blood and treasure) was tried, but not decided; which did therefore prove unhappy, even to that side which seemed victorious, the parliament army. For tho' the king's forces were much broken

[a] Essay towards attaining a true Idea of the Character of Charles I. p. 157. [b] History of the Parliament, p. 119.

(and the low state of the parliament's affairs,

by it, yet his strength grew accidentally greater and more formidable than before; to whom it proved a kind of victory, not to be easily or totally overthrown. For the greatest gentlemen of divers counties began then to consider of the king, as one that in possibility might prove a conquerour against the parliament; and many of them, who before as neuters had stood at gaze, in hope that one quick blow might cleare the doubt, and save them the danger of declaring themselves, came now in, and readily adhered to that side, where there seemed to be least fears, and greatest hopes, which was the king's party; for on the parliament's side the encouragements were only publicke, and nothing promised but the sure enjoyment of their native liberty; no particular honours, preferments, or estates of enemies: and, on the other side, no such total ruin could be threatened from a victorious parliament, being a body as it were of themselves, as from an incensed prince, and such hungry followers as usually go along with princes in those ways. And how much private interest will oversway publicke notions, books of history, rather than philosophy, will truly inform you; for, concerning human actions and dispositions, there is nothing under the sunne which is absolutely new[a]." —Speaking afterwards of the taking of Reading by lord Essex, and the discontents of the soldiers for want of pay, he adds, "Then began a tide of misfortune to flow in upon the parliament side, and their strength almost in every place to decrease at one time; for during the time of these six months, since the battle of Keynton, until this present distress of the lord general's army about Causum, which was about the beginning of May, the warre had gone on with great fury and heat, almost

[a] May's History of the Parliament, book III. p. 29.

occasioned by ill success, desertions, and divisions among themselves), as it caused

thorow every part of England.—The lord general had at that time intelligence that Sir Ralph Hopton had given a very great defeat to the parliament forces of Devonshire, and that prince Maurice and marquesse Hartford were designed that way, to possess themselves wholly of the West[a]."—I will add but one passage more from this writer.—"Indeed," says he, "the parliament was then in a low ebbe; and before the end of that July 1643, they had no forces at all to keep the field; their maine armies (as is before touched) being quite ruined, and no hope in appearance left, but to preserve a while those forts and towns which they then possessed; nor could they long hope to preserve them, unlesse the fortune of the field should change. Thus seemed the parliament to be quite sunk beyond any hope of recovery, and was so believed by many men. The king was possessed of all the westerne counties, from the farthest part of Cornwall, and from thence northward as far as the borders of Scotland. His armies were full and flourishing, free to march whither they pleased, and enough to be divided for several exploits: one part was sent to take in Exeter, where the earl of Stamford was shut up, not able longer to hold the place. The king in person, with a gallant army, designed his march towards Gloucester, the only considerable town in those parts which the parliament held[b]."—Mr. Whitlock agrees with May in his account of the weakness of the parliament about this time[c]. Such an unexpected run of success had Charles in the beginning! For who could have thought that a prince, who had acted the part he had done, could

[a] May's History of the Parliament, book III. p. 39. [b] Id. p. 89.
[c] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 73.

his majesty to speak in a high tone [71] to

make head, by means of the people, against their own representatives, whom they had highly esteemed, and looked on as their saviours? But the nobility, whose interest is closely connected with the crown; the prelates and their dependants, whose power and wealth were cut short by the parliament; and some superstitious notions with regard to the authority of kings and priests; these things, I say, with the divisions among the leading men in the houses, and the great contributions they raised on their party, alienated many from them, and from the cause of public liberty they had engaged in.

[71] His advantages caused him to speak in a high tone.] Prosperity is a dangerous state to most. Few have wisdom enough to behave in it with moderation, decency, and a regard to futurity. It excites generally a foolish elation of heart, which produces woes innumerable. Such an effect it had on Charles, who hardly knew how to bear the good fortune which is mentioned in the preceding note. On the 24th of June, 1643, when all things went well with his majesty, the lord Say and Sele acquainted the lords, that he had received a letter from the king, in which was inclosed a proclamation from his majesty, which was read. In this proclamation, after mentioning every thing done by the parliament, since his leaving Westminster, in the most reproachful terms, he says, "'Tis time now to let our good subjects know, that they may no longer look upon the votes and actions of the persons now remaining, as upon our two houses of parliament; freedom and liberty to be present, and of opinion and debate there, being essential to a parliament; which freedom and liberty all men must confess to be taken away from this assembly:—that at this time we and the major part of both houses are kept, by a strong and rebellious

them, and his subjects in general, so it also

army, from being present at that council; and that those who are present are, by the same army, awed and forced to take unlawful and treasonable protestations to engage their votes: and that such resolutions and directions, which concern the property and liberty of the subjects, are transacted and concluded by a few persons, (under the name of a close committee, consisting of the earl of Manchester, the lord Say, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Stroud, Mr. Martyn, and others, the whole number not exceeding the number of seventeen persons) without reporting the same to the houses, contrary to the express law and customs of parliament.

"All these, for the matter of fact, we are ready to make proof of, and desire nothing but to bring the contrivers of all the aforesaid mischiefs to their tryal by law; and till that be submitted to, we must pursue them by arms, or any other way, in which our good subjects ought to give us assistance to that purpose.—And that all the world may see how willing and desirous we are to forget all the injuries and indignities offered to us, by such as have been misled through weakness or fear, or who have not been the principal contrivers of the present miseries; we do offer a free and general pardon to all the members of either house, (except Robert earl of Essex, Robert earl of Warwick, Edward earl of Manchester, Henry earl of Stamford, William viscount Say and Sele, Sir John Hotham, knight and baronet, Sir Arthur Haselrig, bart. Sir Henry Ludlow, Sir Edward Hungerford, and Sir Francis Popham, knights; Nathaniel Fiennes, John Hampden, John Pym, William Stroud, Henry Martyn, and Alexander Popham, esquires; Isaac Pennington, alderman of London, and captain Ven; who, being the principal authors of these present calamities, have sacrificed the peace and prosperity of their country to their own

occasioned uneasiness in his friends[72], (those

pride, malice, and ambition; and against whom we shall proceed, as against persons guilty of high treason by the known laws of the land; and shall, in the proceeding, be most careful to preserve to them all privileges in the fullest manner that, by the law or usage of former times, is due to them) if they shall, within ten days after the publishing this our proclamation, return to their duty and allegiance to us.

"And, lastly, we further command and enjoin all our subjects, upon their allegiance to us, as they will answer the contrary to Almighty God, and as they desire that they and their posterity should be freed from the foul taint of high treason, and as they tender the peace of this kingdom, that they presume not to give any assistance to the before mentioned rebellious armies in their persons or estates, in any sort whatsoever; but join with us, according to their duty and the laws of the land, to suppress this horrid rebellion.

"And our pleasure and command is, that this our proclamation be read in all churches and chapels within this our kingdom[a]."

Such was the haughty tone in which Charles spoke, when successful; a tone which indicated very clearly his sentiments, and shewed his adversaries what they had to trust to. Whether in this he acted a politic part, the reader will determine.

[72] The advantages gained by Charles, occasioned uneasiness in his friends.] Among those noblemen and gentlemen that adhered to the royal cause, there were many true patriots, who wished for nothing more than a peace on a good foundation; *i. e.* a peace whereby the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the subject, might both be preserved and secured for the

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XII. p. 303—312.

of them who had the interest of their future. They no more wished to see the parliament crushed by the king, than the king by the parliament, and therefore were uneasy when his majesty seemed to be in a situation to give the law to them at his pleasure.—The following passages in the earl of Sunderland's letters, who lost his life in the battle of Newbury, fighting for Charles, will give the reader some light into the sentiments of part of those who zealously adhered to him. In a letter to his lady, dated Shrewsbury, Sept. 21, 1642, we have the following account.

" My dearest heart,

" The king's condition is much improved of late: his force increaseth daily, which increaseth the insolency of the papists. How much I am unsatisfied with the proceedings here, I have at large expressed in several letters. Neither is there wanting daily, handsome occasion to retire, were it not for grinning honour. For let occasion be never so handsome, unless a man were resolved to fight on the parliament side, which, for my part, I had rather be hanged, it will be said without doubt, that a man is afraid to fight. If there could be an expedient found to salve the punctilio of honour, I would not continue here an hour. The discontent that I and other honest men receive daily, is beyond expression. People are much divided: the king is of late very much averse to peace, by the perswasions of 202 and 111. It is likewise conceived, that the king has taken a resolution not to do any thing in that way before the queen comes; for people advising the king to agree with the parliament, was the occasion of the queen's return. Till that time, no advice will be received; nevertheless, the honest men will take all occasions to procure an accommodation; which the king, when he sent those messages,

country at heart), and caused them to press

did heartily desire; and would still make offers in that way, but for 202, 111, and the expectation of the queen, and the fear of the papists, who threaten people of 342: I fear 243 [papists] threats have a much greater influence upon 83 [king] than upon 343. What the king's intensions are, to those that I converse with, are altogether unknowne: some say he will hazard a battle very quickly; others say he thinks of wintering; which as it is suspected, so if it was generally believed, 117 [Sunderland] and many others would make no scruple to retire; for I think it as farr from gallant either to starve with the king, or to do worse; as, to avoid fighting[a]."

In another letter to her, written soon after, he says, "If the king, or rather 243 [papists] prevail, we are in a sad condition; for they will be insupportable to all, but most to us who have opposed them; so that if the king prevails by force, I must not live at home, which is grievous to me, but more to you; but if——, I apprehend I shall not be suffered to live in England: and yet, I cannot fancy any way to avoid both; for the king is so awed by 243 [papists], that he dares not propose peace, or accept: I fear though, by his last message, he is engaged. But if that be offerred by the parliament, I and others will speak their opinion, though by that, concerning the treaty, were threatned by 243 [papists], who caused 99 to be commanded by the king, upon his allegiance to returne against his will, he being too powerful for 102, 111, and by whom England is now likely to be governed.—I hear 116 [Leicester] has refused to shew his instructions to the parliament, without the king's leave, which resolution

[a] Sidney's State Papers, vol. II. p. 667.

him more to peace, than was agreeable to his own inclinations.

I hope he will not alter, lest it should be prejudicial to him; for the king is in so good a condition at this time, that if the parliament would restore all his right, unless the parliament will deliver up to a legal trial all those persons named in his long ——, and some others, he will not hearken to peace[a]."

These letters, written by so eminently loyal a person, will, I believe, easily induce the reader to believe the truth of lord Holland's and Sir Edward Dering's declarations of their motives for returning to the parliament, viz. the prevalency of the popish party with the king, which had brought about a cessation with the Irish rebels, and threatened the protestant religion in England[b]: though lord Clarendon, without denying the fact, censures lord Holland for publishing his declaration, "as an act very unsuitable to his honour, or his own generous nature; and an action contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity[c]."——Lord Sunderland, in his first letter, observes, that "the honest men will take all occasions to procure an accommodation." Of this number was the excellent lord Falkland, secretary of state to Charles, who lost his life in the same battle with Sunderland. "In the morning of the fight," says Whitlock, "he called for a clean shirt, and being asked the reason of it, answered, that if he were slain in the battle, they should not find his body in foul linnen. Being disswaded by his friends to go into the fight, as having no call to it, and being no military officer, he said he was weary of the times, and foresaw much misery to his own country, and did believe he should be out of it ere night, and

[a] Sidney's State Papers, vol. II. p. 668. [b] Rushworth, vol. V. p. 368, 384. [c] Clarendon, vol. III. p. 367.

But the prosperity of Charles being of no

could not be persuaded to the contrary, but would enter into the battle, and was there slain[a]." The misery he had in view could not be from the parliament; for their affairs were far enough from being in a condition to give terror, though the siege of Gloucester was raised by the ability and courage of Essex. And Charles himself, in a letter to his queen, dated Oxford, Dec. 1644, tells her, "that all, even his party, were strangely impatient for peace[b]." And in another letter, dated Oxford, Dec. 15, 1644, O. S. we have the following passage. "I confess in some respects thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London; for, indeed, some amongst us had a greater mind that way than was fit: of which perswasion Percy is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see thee; of whom having said this, is enough to show thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee, concerning our proceedings here[c]." And in a letter to her, in the March following, he writes thus from the same place: "What I told thee last week, concerning a good parting with our lords and commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed: and now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantagious to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be meerly my own fault. For I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to be pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the treaty, knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose[d]."

Whoever will compare and consider the several things recited in this note, will probably be convinced that his majesty designed totally to subdue his opponents, or, at least to bring them to such terms as

[a] Whitlock, p. 73, and Clarendon, vol. III. p. 358. [b] King Charles's Works, p. 143. [c] Id. p. 148. [d] Id. p. 150.

long continuance, he lowered his note[73],

might render them for ever incapable of opposing his measures. This seems to have been his intention; the apprehension of which induced the honest men of his party to press him, in the manner they did, to come to a peace, that so the people might be free, and he and themselves secure.

[73] The prosperity of Charles being of no long continuance, he lowered his note, &c.] The events of the war need not here be particularised. All that is necessary is to observe, that, after the siege of Gloucester, things for the most part went but ill on the king's side; though sometimes he obtained advantages over his adversaries. But the loss of the battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645, entirely turned the balance against his majesty, and left him in a weak condition. "It hath pleased God," says he, in a letter to the marquis of Ormond, dated Cardiffe, July 31, 1645, "by many successive misfortunes, to reduce my affairs of late from a very prosperous condition to so low an ebb, as to be a perfect trial of all men's integrity to me[a]."

And in a letter of the same date to prince Rupert, he has the following expression: "I confess, speaking either as a meer soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin[b]." Charles, however, made some efforts still in the field; but they were weak and ineffectual. He had nothing now to do but to enter into a negotiation for peace with the parliament: and this he did in a manner different from what he was wont. Formerly he would not allow the title of parliament to the two houses, but, in his messages sent, styled them the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster; but he now, without scruple, addressed them as "the lords and commons

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIV. p. 93. [b] Id. p. 95.

deigned to treat his parliament with some

assembled in the parliament of England at Westminster[a]."

His alteration of style was as remarkable as his change of address. Having, by a message of Dec. 5, 1645, desired a safe-conduct for some commissioners to treat in his name concerning peace, and receiving not an immediate answer, he, on the 15th, renewed his application in the following words:

"For the speaker of the house of peers *pro tempore*.

"C. R.

"His majesty cannot but extreamly wonder, that after so many expressions on your part of a deep and seeming sense of the miseries of this afflicted kingdom, and of the dangers incident to his person during the continuance of this unnatural war, your many great and so often repeated protestations, that the raising these arms hath been only for the necessary defence of God's true religion, his majestie's honour, safety, and prosperity, the peace, comfort, and security of his people; you should delay a safe-conduct to the persons mentioned in his majestie's message of the 5th of this instant December, which are to be sent unto you with propositions for a well-grounded peace: a thing so far from having been at any time denied by his majesty, whensoever you have desired the same, that he believes it hath been seldom (if ever) practised among the most avowed and professed enemies, much less from subjects to their king. But his majesty is resolved, that no discouragements whatsoever shall make him fail of his part, in doing his uttermost endeavours to put an end to these calamities, which, if not in time prevented, must prove the ruin of this unhappy nation: and therefore doth once again desire, that a safe-con-

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIV. p. 143.

degree of respect, and solicited them again

duct may be forthwith sent for those persons expressed in his former message; and doth therefore conjure you, as you will answer to Almighty God, in that day when he shall make inquisition for all the blood that hath and may yet be spilt in this unnatural war, as you tender the preservation and establishment of the true religion, by all the bonds of duty and allegiance to your king, or compassion to your bleeding and unhappy country, and of charity to yourselves, that you dispose your hearts to a true sense, and imploy all your faculties in a more serious endeavour, together with his majesty, to set a speedy end to these wasting divisions; and then he shall not doubt but that God will again give the blessing of peace to this distracted kingdom[a]."

No safe-conduct being produced by this, the king, on the 26th of the same month, sent a message to both houses with propositions, wherein he desired a personal treaty with them at Westminster; and, as a preliminary, offered to settle the militia, for a certain time, in such hands as he thought would be unexceptionable.—In answer to these messages, the houses plainly told him, that "they finding that former treaties have been made use of for other ends, under the pretence of peace, and have proved dilatory and unsuccessful, cannot give way to a safe-conduct, according to your majestie's desire: but both houses of the parliament of England, having now under their consideration propositions and bills for the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace, which are speedily to be communicated to the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, to resolve, after mutual agreement of both kingdoms, to present them with all speed to your

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 548.

and again for peace. But his expectations

majesty[a]."—Notwithstanding this, on the 29th, he returned what follows:

"C. R.

"Although the message sent by Sir Peter Killegrew may justly require an expostulatory answer, yet his majesty layes that aside, as not so proper for his present endeavours; leaving all the world to judge, whether his proposition for a personal treaty, or the flat denial of a safe-conduct for persons to begin a treaty, be greater signs of a real intention to peace; and shall now only insist upon his former message of the 26th of this December, that upon his repair to Westminster, he doubts not but so to join his endeavours with his two houses of parliament, as to give just satisfaction, not only concerning the business of Ireland, but also for the settling of a way for the payment of the publick debts, as well to the Scots and the city of London as others. And as already he hath shewn a fair way for the settling of the militia, so he shall carefully endeavour, in all other particulars, that none shall have cause to complain for want of security, whereby just jealousies may arise, to hinder the continuance of the desired peace. And certainly this proposition of a personal treaty could never have entered into his majesty's thoughts, if he had not resolved to make apparent to the world, that the publick good and peace of this kingdom is far dearer to him, than the respect of any particular interest. Wherefore none can oppose this motion, without a manifest demonstration that he particularly envies his majesty should be the chief author in so blessed a work, besides the declaring himself a direct opposer of the happy peace of these nations. To conclude, whosoever will not be ashamed

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 550.

not being answered, and his misfortunes increasing, he threw himself into the hands of the Scots, who, as it is well known, departing into their country, left him, with the commissioners appointed by the parliament to receive him, at Holdenby. From

that his fair and specious protestations should be brought to a true and publick test, and those who have a real sense, and do truly commiserate the miseries of their bleeding country, let them speedily and chearfully embrace his majestie's proposition for his personal treaty at Westminster, which, by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly, to these now distracted kingdoms, restore the happiness of a long wished-for and lasting peace [a]."

I will only add a passage or two more from his message to both houses from Southwell, May 18, 1646. —" His majesty, being certainly informed that the armies were marching so fast up to Oxford, as made that no fit place for treating, did resolve to withdraw himself hither, only to secure his own person, and with no intention to continue this war any longer, or to make any division between his two kingdoms; but to give such contentment to both, as by the blessing of God, he might see a happy and well-grounded peace, thereby to bring prosperity to these kingdoms, answerable to the best times of his progenitors."—After this follow some propositions concerning religion, the militia, Scotland, and Ireland; and then it is added, " If these be not satisfactory, his majesty then desires, that all such of the propositions as are already agreed upon by both kingdoms, may be speedily sent unto him; his majesty being resolved to comply with his parliament in every thing that shall be for the happiness

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 550.

hence he was taken by Joyce, and put into the power of the army.

The negotiations for peace were continued, notwithstanding, with him; and he might have had reasonable good terms[74], his condition considered, from the army or

of his subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy differences which have produced so many sad effects[a]." How different is this from the language made use of in the note 71! How calculated to inspire trust and confidence, as well as to move compassion! Had the king talked in this manner formerly, and acted accordingly, he might have been a king indeed: had he complied with the parliament in every thing that was for the happiness of his subjects, he might have avoided all his misfortunes. But he resolved on this too late, if indeed he sincerely resolved it, and thereby lost the benefit of his good intentions. For men's vows in calamity are little regarded; it being customary at that season to make them, and as customary when set at ease to break them. More especially, when men are known to be not over-stocked with sincerity, they cannot, with reason, at such an hour, expect immediately to be relied on. For the impressions made on the minds of spectators by a long course of actions, are not easily erased. Time, and a different conduct, alone can do it.—However, this behaviour of Charles, so very different from that he had used towards the parliament in times past, was not wholly unserviceable to him, as we shall soon see. For many are to be wrought on by fair speeches, and a gentle insinuating behaviour, who are proof against threats and ill usage.

[74] The negotiations for peace were continued with him, and he might have had reasonable good terms, &c.]

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 559.

the parliament; but he absolutely refused

Though Charles by all his messages could not procure a personal treaty, yet there never were wanting those in the two houses who were willing to agree with him on what they looked on as prudent and reasonable terms. After the message from Southwell, he removed with the Scots to Newcastle, where a treaty with him was carried on by the two houses, for a safe and well-grounded peace; but it came to nothing, through his stiffness and obstinacy. When at Holmby, it is well known that great court was paid to him by the chiefs of the army: this gave him consequence in his own eyes, and made him refuse to listen to terms, which were far enough from being hard, his circumstances considered[a]. His circumstances, I say, considered. For as he had engaged in a war, and had been unsuccessful, it could not be expected but that he must have terms imposed on him, and be well contented with a less degree of power than he had formerly enjoyed. But his majesty was inflexible, as appears from Sir John Berkley's relation, in Ludlow. "Major Huntington, one of the king's confidents," says he, "brought two general officers to Sir John Berkley, by order of the king, recommending them to him as persons upon whom he might rely: these two had frequent conferences with Sir John Berkley, and assured him, that a conjunction with the king was universally desired by the officers and agitators; and that Cromwell and Ireton were great dissemblers, if they were not real in it: but that the army was so bent upon it at present, that they durst not show themselves otherwise; protesting that however things might happen to change, and whatsoever others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the king. They acquainted him

[a] See Ludlow, vol. I. p. 195, 285. Clarendon, vol. V. p. 50, 73; and K. Charles's Works, p. 578.

to accept of them. This his enemies attri-

also, that proposals were drawn up by Ireton, wherein episcopacy was not required to be abolished, nor any of the king's party wholly ruined, nor the militia to be taken away from the crown; advising that the king would with all expedition agree to them, there being no assurance of the army, which they had observed already to have changed more than once. To this end, they brought him to commissary-general Ireton, with whom he continued all night debating upon the proposals before mentioned, altering two of the articles, as he saith himself in the manuscript, in the most material points; but upon his endeavouring to alter a third, touching the exclusion of seven persons, not mentioned in the papers, from pardon, and the admission of the king's party to sit in the next parliament, Ireton told him, that there must be a distinction made between the conquerors and those that had been beaten, and that he himself should be afraid of a parliament where the king's party had the major vote; in conclusion, conjuring Sir John Berkley, as he tendered the king's welfare, to endeavour to procure his consent to the proposals, that they might with more confidence be offered to the parliament, and all differences accommodated. Cromwell appeared, in all his conferences with Sir John Berkley, most zealous for a speedy agreement with the king, insomuch that he sometimes complained of his son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his unwillingness to come up to his majestie's sense: at other times he would wish that Sir John Berkley would act more frankly, and not tie himself up by narrow principles; always affirming, that he doubted the army would not persist in their good intentions towards the king.

" During these transactions, the army marched from about Reading to Bedford, and the king with his usual

buted to stiffness, himself and his friends to

guard to Woburn, a house belonging to the earl of Bedford; where the proposals of the army were brought to him to peruse, before they were offered to him in publick. He was much displeased with them in general, saying, that if they had any intention to come to an accommodation, they would not impose such conditions on him: to which Sir John Berkley, who brought them to him, answered, that he should rather suspect they designed to abuse him, if they had demanded less; there being no appearance that men, who, through so many dangers and difficulties, acquired such advantages, would content themselves with less than was contained in the said proposals; and that a crown so near lost, was never recovered so easily as this would be, if things were adjusted upon these terms. But the king being of another opinion, replied, that they could not subsist without him, and that therefore he did not doubt to find them shortly willing to condescend farther, making his chief objections against the three following points: 1. The exclusion of seven persons from pardon. 2. The incapacitating any of his party from being elected members of the next ensuing parliament. 3. That there was nothing mentioned concerning church-government. To the first it was answered, that when the king and the army were agreed, it would not be impossible to make them remit in that point; but if that could not be obtained, yet when the king was restored to his power he might easily supply seven persons, living beyond the seas, in such a manner as to make their banishment supportable. To the second, that the next parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the people, and that it would be an happiness to the king's party to have no hand therein. To the third, that the law was security enough for the church, and that it was a great point

conscience, honour, and prudence: which is

gained to reduce men, who had fought against it, to be wholly silent in that matter. But the king, breaking away from them, said, 'Well, I shall see them glad, ere long, to accept of more equal terms.'

"About this time Mr. Ashburnham arrived, to the king's great contentment; and his instructions referring to Sir John Berkley's, which they were to prosecute jointly, Sir John gave him what light he could into the state of affairs: but he soon departed from the methods proposed by Sir John Berkley, and entirely complying with the king's humour, declared openly, that having always used the best company, he could not converse with such senseless fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gained, there was no doubt but that they would be able to command their own army; and that he was resolved to apply himself wholly to them. Upon this there grew a great familiarity between him and Whalley, who commanded the guard that waited on the king; and not long after, a close correspondence with Cromwell and Ireton, messages daily passing from the king to the head-quarters. With these encouragements, and others from the presbyterian party, the lord Lauderdale, and divers of the city of London, assuring the king that they would oppose the army unto the death, he seemed so much elevated, that when the proposals were sent to him, and his concurrence humbly desired, he, to the great astonishment not only of Ireton and the army, but even of his own party, entertained them with very sharp and bitter language, saying, that no man should suffer for his sake; and that he repented him of nothing so much, as that he passed the bill against the earl of Strafford: which though it must be confessed to have been an unworthy act in him, all things considered, yet was it no less imprudent in that manner, and at

most probable, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

that time, to mention it; and that he would have the church established according to law by the proposals. To which those of the army replied, that it was not their work to do it, and that they thought it sufficient for them to wave the point; and they hoped for the king too, he having already consented to the abolition of the episcopal government in Scotland. The king said he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, repeating frequently these or the like words, 'You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin, if I do not sustain you.' This manner of carriage from the king being observed with the utmost amazement by many officers of the army who were present, and, at least in appearance, were promoters of the agreement, Sir John Berkley taking notice of it, looked with much wonder upon the king, and stepping to him, said in his ear, 'Sir, you speak as if you had some secret strength and power which I do not know of; and since you have concealed it from me, I wish you had done it from these men also.' Whereupon the king began to recollect himself, and to soften his former discourse: but it was too late; for col. Rainsborough, who of all the army seemed the least to desire an agreement, having observed these passages, went out from the conference, and hastened to the army, informing them what entertainment their commissioners and proposals had found with the king[a]."

Monteth's account is to the same purpose, and nearly in the same words[b]. And that there is great probability of the army's being well inclined towards the king at this time, appears from a letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 202.

[b] History of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 301, 309.

New commotions arising in various parts of the kingdom in behalf of his majesty,

to the speakers of both houses, dated Reading, July 8, 1647. In this letter he says, " Our desires concerning a just consideration and settlement of the king's rights, his majesty first giving his concurrence to settle and secure the rights and liberties of the kingdoms, we have already publickly declared in our representation and remonstrance. Since the first of those papers sent to the parliament, there have been several officers of the army, upon several occasions, sent to his majesty; the first to present to him a copy of the representation, and after that some others to tender him a copy of the remonstrance; upon both which, the officers sent were appointed to clear the sense and intention of any thing in either paper, whereupon his majesty might make any question. Since then there have been also some officers, at several times, sent to his majesty about his remove from Hatfield; to dissuade, if possible, from Windsor, or any place so near London, to some place of further distance, answerable to what we had desired of the parliament. In all which addresses to his majesty, we care not who knows what hath been said or done; for as we have nothing to bargain for, or ask either from his majesty or the parliament, for advantage to ourselves, or any particular party or interest of our own; so, in all those addresses to his majesty, we have utterly disclaimed and disavowed any such thing, or any overtures or thoughts tending that way; but the only intent and effect of those our addresses, hath been to desire and endeavour his majestie's free concurrence with the parliament, for establishing and securing the common rights and liberties, and settling the peace of the kingdom; and to assure him, that (the publick being so provided for, with such his majestie's concur-

and strong desires after peace prevailing,

rence) it is fully agreeable to our principles, and should be our desires and endeavours, that (with and in such settling of the publick) the rights of his majesty's royal family should be also provided for, so as a lasting peace and agreement might be settled in this nation; and that, as we had publickly declared for the same in general terms, so, if things come to a way of settlement, we should not be wanting in our spheres to own that general desire, in any particulars of natural or civil right of his majestie's person, which might not prejudice or again endanger the publick; and, in the mean time, that his majesty should find all personal civilities and respects from us, with all reasonable freedom that might stand with safety, and with the trust or charge lying upon us concerning his person[a]."—It appears then, that the army was inclined towards the king about this time, and that he might have had from them tolerable conditions. These he refused to consent unto, till making his escape into the Isle of Wight, the parliament, under the influence of the army, presented unto him, Dec. 24, 1647, four bills, together with propositions, which, upon passing these bills, were to be treated upon. These bills were entituled,

"1. An act concerning the raising, settling, and maintaining forces by sea and land, within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, &c.—This divested his majesty of the power of the militia for twenty years, and placed it in the parliament: afterwards it was not to be exercised without the authority of the houses.

"2. An act for justifying the proceedings of parliament in the late war, and for declaring all oaths, declarations, proclamations, and other proceedings against it, to be void.

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XVI. p. 102.

the parliament once more entered into a

"3. An act concerning peers lately made, and hereafter to be made. By this all peerages, granted since the 20th of May, 1642, were declared void; and all such as were for the future to be conferred, without consent of parliament, were enacted to be of no force, with respect to sitting and voting in parliament.

"4. An act concerning the adjournment of both houses of parliament. This gave them liberty to adjourn when and where they pleased, without making an end or determining any session of the then parliament[a]."

His majesty, in answer to these bills and the propositions that accompanied them, declared, "That neither the desire of being freed from his tedious and irksome condition of life his majesty hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall him, in case his two houses shall not afford him a personal treaty, shall make him change his resolution of not consenting to any act till the whole peace be concluded; yet then he intends not only to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to him, but also to make good all other concessions mentioned in his message of the 16th of November last, which he thought would have produced better effects than what he finds in the bills and propositions now presented unto him. And yet his majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presseth for a personal treaty (so passionately is he affected with the advantages which peace will bring to his majesty and all his subjects); of which he will not at all despair (there being no other visible way to obtain a well-grounded peace). However, his majesty is very much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the offices both of a christian and of a

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 590.

treaty with him. This they did with great sincerity, and were not without hopes of

king; and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two houses to consider their king, and to compassionate their fellow-subjects' miseries[a]." There seems somewhat very philosophic in this reply. But the reader may possibly be able to account for the spirit of it, when he is informed that the king was meditating an escape from Carisbrook; had made a treaty with the Scots, who soon openly invaded England on his behalf, in which they were joined by the presbyterians and cavaliers in England, which produced the second civil war, and ended fatally with respect to most of those who excited it.—To return.—No sooner had the king's answer been read and considered by the houses, but they set forth the following declaration and resolutions, Jan. 15, 1647.

"The lords and commons assembled in parliament, after many addresses to his majesty for preventing and ending this unnatural war, raised by him against his parliament and kingdom, having lately sent four bills to his majesty, which did contain only matter of safety and security to the parliament and kingdom, referring the composure of all other differences to a personal treaty with his majesty; and having received an absolute negative, do hold themselves obliged to use their uttermost endeavours speedily to settle the present government, in such a way as may bring the greatest security to this kingdom, in the enjoyment of the laws and liberties thereof; and in order thereunto, and that the houses may receive no delays nor interruptions in so great and necessary a work, they have taken these resolutions, and passed these votes following, *viz.*

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 595.

bringing it to a happy conclusion. For the answers of the king to the propositions of

'Resolved upon the question,

'That the lords and commons do declare, that they will make no further addresses, or applications to the king.

'Resolved upon the question,

'That no application or address be made to the king by any person whatsoever, without the leave of both houses.

'Resolved upon the question,

'That the person or persons that shall make breach of this order, shall incur the penalties of high treason.

'Resolved upon the question,

'That the lords and commons do declare, that they will receive no more any message from the king; and do enjoin, that no person whatsoever do presume to receive or bring any message from the king to both or either of the houses of parliament, or to any other person[a]."

This was the fruit of Charles's stiff behaviour! He did not consider times and circumstances, nor could he bring himself into such a temper as was requisite to regain his throne, and re-establish his affairs.—The house of commons was so provoked at his majesty's refusal to sign the four bills, that they printed a "declaration, expressing their reasons and grounds of passing the resolutions, touching no farther address or application to the king."

In this Charles's behaviour from the beginning of his reign is brought to remembrance, his insincerity in his treaties exposed, and his dealings with regard to the parliament and Ireland laid open, with great acri-

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 596.

both houses were voted to be a ground to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom [75].

mony of style[a]. His majesty replied hereunto in a declaration, dated Carisbrook Castle, 18 Jan. 1647, and insisted still on it, that he could not in conscience, honour or prudence pass the four bills[b]; and thereby made the matter still worse in the eyes of his opponents, who paid but little regard to these his protestations. For they imagined that it was not conscience, honour or prudence that prompted him to this and his former denials to yield to the terms proposed, but an inflexible stiffness, and the hopes of availing himself of their divisions. "When treaties from the parliament," says Milton, "sought out him, no less than seven times, (oft enough to testify the willingness of their obedience, and too oft for the majesty of a parliament to court their subjection) he, in the confidence of his own strength, or of our divisions, returned us nothing back but denials, or delays, to their most necessary demands; and being at lowest, kept up still and sustained his almost famished hopes with the hourly expectation of raising up himself the higher, by the greater heap which he sat promising himself of our sudden ruin through dissention."—And again, says the same writer, "The parliament—when he was their vanquished and their captive, his forces utterly broken and disbanded, yet offered him, three several times, no worse proposals or demands, than when he stood fair to be their conqueror. But that imprudent surmise, that his lowest ebb could not set him 'below a fight,' was a presumption that ruined him[c]."

[75] The king's answers were voted to be a ground to

[a] See Parliamentary History, vol. XVII. p. 2—24 [b] King Charles's Works, p. 597. [c] Iconoclastes, 2d edit. p. 68, 70.

But the hopes of peace were suddenly

proceed upon, for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom.] Charles, notwithstanding the votes of no more addresses, we have observed, was not without hopes of regaining his power. Nor were his hopes wholly without foundation: for the nation, weary of war, and fearing the great power of the army, was much disposed to bring things to an accommodation with him. Petitions from various parts were sent up for this purpose to the houses: the city of London was greatly desirous of it, as well as many of the most considerable men in parliament; and mobs and tumults arose every where, in order to bring it about. Nor was this all. The friends of Charles raised forces in different parts of the kingdom, and the Scots invaded England, in order to assist them in restoring him to his former condition. The parliament indeed liked not these proceedings, as tending to render their cares and toils of no effect. For if by force he was resettled on his throne, they well enough knew what was likely to befall themselves, and the nation in general. They ordered therefore the army to quell the tumults, to advance against the royalists, and repel the Scots; which was at length effectually done by men used to victory, and inspired with a belief of the justness of the cause they were engaged in. Mean while the parliament, to manifest to the world that they indeed desired peace upon terms that were just and safe, resolved, "That a treaty should be had in the Isle of Wight, with the king in person, by a committee appointed by both houses[a]." Accordingly commissioners were appointed; the votes for no more addresses were revoked, and the town of Newport, named by the king, was agreed to for the place of treaty. Charles now had once more

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XVII. p. 348.

dissipated: for the army, having subdued

an opportunity of regaining his honour, freedom, and safety. The opportunity he laid hold of, though he did not proceed with that openness, quickness, and dispatch which the critical situation of his affairs seemed to require.—The treaty began Sept. 18, 1648. His majesty consented in this treaty to the first proposition made by the parliament, "for recalling and annulling all oaths, declarations, proclamations, and other proceedings against both or either houses of parliament, or against any for adhering to them; provided that neither this concession nor any other of his upon this treaty, should be of any force, unless the whole were agreed."—This proposition was intended to, and actually did, justify all that had been done against the king from the very beginning of this war; and therefore it is styled by lord Clarendon, a "proposition of a horrid and monstrous nature, which though his majesty consented to pass, yet he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to[a]." But with regard to the article of religion—this his majesty stiffly debated with the commissioners for four days, and at length appeared no way convinced by their reasonings, or the reasonings of their divines. For his chaplains, with whom he consulted here, seem to have had their wonted influence over him, and threw him into much perplexity.—"His majesty (says Mr. Oudart, who attended on him at this treaty) this afternoon [Oct. 7.] heard read several draughts of an answer upon the proposition for religion; disliked all; and was in a great perplexity about the point of abolishing episcopacy, even to shedding of tears[b]." Great pity it surely was to press the king to do what seemed to be really against

[a] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 213, 214.

[b] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. II. lib. 10. p. 7. fol. Lond. 1735.

those who had taken up arms in his ma-

his conscience! How far the apprehended necessity of the public welfare's requiring it will justify those who did it, the casuists must determine. Though I cannot help remarking, that it seems among the unaccountables in human nature, that this prince, who had all along paid so little regard to the laws and liberties of his kingdom, or his own coronation-oath, in most interesting and important points, should have so great a fear of acting against law, Christianity, and the same oath, with respect to the abolishing of bishops, and secularizing their revenues.—However, in order to make things easy, his majesty offered to consent "that the calling and sitting of the assembly of divines at Westminster be confirmed for three years by act of parliament; that the directory for the public worship of God, and the presbyterian government, be established by law for the same time. Provided that his majesty, and those of his judgment, or any others who cannot in conscience submit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the same government, or form of worship, but have the free practice of their own profession. And that a free consultation and debate be had with the assembly of divines at Westminster in the mean time (twenty of his majestie's nomination being added unto them), whereby it may be determined by his majestie and his two houses of parliament, how the said church-government and form of public worship after the said time may be settled, or sooner, if differences may be agreed.—And concerning the bishop's lands and revenues, his majesty considering that during these troublesome times divers of his subjects have made contracts and purchases, and divers have disbursed great sums of money upon security and engagement of those lands; his majesty for their sa-

jesty's behalf, presented a remonstrance to

tisfaction, will consent to an act or acts of parliament, whereby legal estates for lives or for years (at their choice), not exceeding ninety-nine years, shall be made of those lands, towards the satisfaction of the said purchasers, contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old rents; or some other moderate rent, whereby they may receive satisfaction. And in case such lease shall not satisfy, his majesty will propound and consent to some other way for their further satisfaction. Provided, that the propriety and inheritance of those lands may still remain and continue to the church and churchmen respectively, according to the pious intentions of the donors and founders thereof[a]."

"His majesty farther offered to consent to acts for the better observation of the Lord's-day, for suppressing innovations in God's worship, and for advancing of preaching.

"And to acts against pluralities and non-residences, for regulating the universities and colleges, for the better discovery and conviction of popish recusants, and education of their children in the protestant religion; for levying of penalties against papists and their practices against the state, and for putting the laws in execution, and for a stricter course to prevent hearing and saying of mass.

"As to the covenant, his majesty was not then satisfied that he could sign or swear it, or consent to impose it on the consciences of others, nor did he conceive it proper or useful at that time to be insisted upon. As to the militia, his majesty consented to an act to have it in the hands of the parliament for ten years. Touching Ireland, after advice with his two

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 603.

the house of commons, in which they de-

houses, the king offered to leave it to their determination. Touching publick debts, he consented to raise money by equal taxes. Lastly, he proposed to have liberty to come forthwith to Westminster, and be restored to a condition of freedom and safety, and to the possession of his lands and revenues; and that an act of oblivion and indemnity might pass, to extend to all persons for all matters relating to the late unhappy differences; which being agreed to by his two houses, his majesty declared himself ready to make these his concessions binding, by giving them the royal assent[a]."

"More than this," says Whitlock, "could not be obtained from his majesty, though most earnestly begged of him by some of the commissioners (great persons) with tears, and on their knees, particularly as to the proposition touching religion. But the prelatical party about him, for their particular interest, and power to persecute others, prevailed with him rather to hazard his crown and life, than to diminish their greatness and power. Wherein the church-government and publick worship, and chiefly the revenues of the church, swayed more with the king's chaplains then about him, and they more with his majesty (continually whispering matter of conscience to him) than the parliament, with all their commissioners, could prevail with him for an agreement, though possibly his own judgment (which was above all their's) might not be so fully convinced by his eager divines about him[b]." This answer of the king's being voted unsatisfactory, his majesty afterwards offered to consent "to a bill for taking away all archbishops, chancellours and commissaries, deans and subdeans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, canons and prebendaries, and,

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 603; and Whitlock, p. 340. [b] Whitlock, p. 340.

manded that the king should be brought to

in short, all the officers of the cathedral or collegiate churches; and also to agree with the two houses (time being to be allowed him and them to inform themselves of the practice of the primitive church in point of episcopacy) in limiting the bishops to the counsel and assistance of presbyters, and in the exercise of their jurisdiction, and increasing their number, if it be thought fit[a]." This was the utmost Charles would allow in this matter, and long and learned were the debates, and many the desires of expedition expressed, before he could be brought to this. For his manner was here, as in former treaties, to try whether less would not be accepted before he offered more, and thereby wasted time, which to him, in his circumstances, was most precious. However, these concessions with regard to the church being made; the militia granted to the parliament for twenty years; the cessation in Ireland declared void; all titles of honour, since the great seal was carried to Oxford, vacated; delinquents fined, prohibited the court and parliament, and left to the laws; all offices left to be filled up by both houses; their grants and commissions confirmed; the court of Wards abolished, with some matters of a less important nature, things began to hasten towards a settlement; and it was resolved by the commons, Dec. 5, 1648, and agreed to by the lords, "That the answers of the king to the propositions of both houses, are a ground for the house to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom[b]."——But before this vote passed, his majesty had been seized by the army (without the knowledge of the parliament, as we shall presently see), who thereby rendered of none effect all these proceedings. Unhappy was the stiffness

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XVIII. p. 92. [b] Id. p. 446.

justice, and a period be set to the parlia-

and disputatious humour of this prince to himself and his friends! had he frankly made these concessions at first, they would probably have brought him to London in freedom, honour, and safety. But by disputing and writing, time was lengthened out, the English royalists beaten, the Scotish army routed, and the army masters of all.——Lord Clarendon, in his account of this treaty, speaks of the "refractory, obstinate adherence of the commissioners to their own will, without any shadow of reason; of their letting loose their clergy upon the king, who all behaved themselves with that rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a king, no more than to a bishop;" and of "their importunity and bitterness in beginning on their new instructions [a]:" things as little founded on truth, as that Jenkins and Spurstow were the clergymen who disputed with his majesty; when, in fact, their names were Marshal and Vines, Caryl and Seaman; who, says Mr. Oudart, in the conclusion of their rejoinder to the king's reply about church-government, "were very civil and full of rhetorick, and gave a great testimony of the learning couched in his majesty's paper, and highly applauded his majesty's piety as another Constantine, &c [b]." And the same gentleman assures us, his majesty "much thanked every one of the commissioners for their freedom, and even for their urging him against his opinion during the time of this treaty [c]."

Sir Thomas Herbert, who was with the king also at this time, concurs with Mr. Oudart in his account of the respect with which he was treated.—"In these debates," says he, "there were no heats on either side,

[a] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 213, 216, 223.
[b] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. II. book x. p. 11.
[c] Id. p. 16.

ment. But not meeting with success herein, they seized the king's[76] person, removed

but managed with great sobriety and moderation. And in all this treaty his majesty was observed, in the whole transaction with the commissioners and divines, to keep a constant decorum, with great prudence, cautiousness, and good order. And albeit he was single, and obliged to answer what the commissioners (who were many) had in proposition or objection, his majesty's answers were pertinent, and delivered without any perturbation or shew of discomposure. Albeit he had to do with persons as of high civility and observance to the king, so of great parts and understanding in the law and affairs of state, and both for their ingenuity and fair carriage much commended by the king, as occasion afterwards offered[a]." His lordship pretends he drew up his relation from the account given in a letter from the king to his son: whether this is probable (as it is inconsistent with the best attested narratives of this affair) must be determined by the reader.

[76] The army presented a remonstrance, seized the king's person, &c.] From the time that the king rejected the propositions made him by the army, they meditated his ruin. Whilst the treaty of Newport was in agitation, a large remonstrance came from the army, in which it was declared, that "they conceived the parliament had abundant cause to lay aside any farther proceedings in that treaty, and to return to their votes of non-addresses, and to reject the king's demands for himself and his party, and that he may no more come to government nor to London."

"That delinquents be no more bargained with, nor partially dealt with; nor protected, nor pardonable by

[a] Sir T. Herbert's Memoirs, p. 72. 8vo. Lond. 1702.

him to Hurst Castle, and afterwards brought him to London, where a high court of jus-

any other power, only moderated upon submission; and among these offenders they offer,

" 1. That the king be brought to justice, as the capital cause of all.

" 2. That a day be set for the prince and duke of York to come in: and if they do not, then to be declared traitors; if they do come in, to be proceeded against, or remitted, as they give satisfaction.

" 3. That publick justice may be done upon some capital causers and actors in this war.

" 4. That the rest, upon submission, may have mercy for their lives.

" 5. That the soldiers may have their arrears, and publick debts be paid out of delinquents estates.

" 6. That a period be set to this parliament, and a provision for new and more equal representatives of the people, &c."

In the conclusion they say, " These things they press as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill, because from an army, and so servants, when their masters are servants, and trustees for the kingdom."

" This remonstrance," says Whitlock, " endured a long and high debate, some inveighing sharply against the insolency of it, others palliated and excused the matters in it, and some did not stick to justify it; most were silent because it came from the army, and feared the like to be done by them as had been done formerly: in fine, the debate was adjourned[a]." The house, on reading this remonstrance, we may well suppose, was not a little confused. But the army followed briskly their blow: they seized the king's person, and conveyed

[a] Whitlock, p. 355.

tice being erected, he was tried, condemn-

him to Hurst Castle. This still more alarmed the parliament, who declared that it was done without their advice or consent, and voted the king's concessions a ground for settling the peace of the kingdom [a], as I have before mentioned. The army finding the parliament thus resolute for peace, resolved by force to frustrate their intentions. For this end, they placed colonel Pride, with a large party of horse and foot, upon all the avenues to the parliament-house; who, on the 6th of December, seized and imprisoned forty-seven members of the house of commons, and afterwards ninety-six more were secluded by the same authority [b]. —What followed is well known.

The votes of non-addresses were resumed; the king was brought to Windsor; an ordinance was passed by the remaining part of the commons [c], but rejected by the lords, for bringing him to his trial; a high court of justice was erected, before which he was tried (for levying war against the parliament, and the people therein represented), condemned, and, in virtue of its warrant, executed Jan. 30, 1648, O.S.

"From these indisputable facts," as the author of the parliamentary history observes, "it appears, that those great and able members who first engaged in behalf of the liberties of the people, against the encroachments of the prerogative, meant no more than to oblige the king to rule according to law; not to bring him to the scaffold: and that monarchy and the peerage were not destroyed, till the liberties of parliament had been first subverted by an army of their own raising [d]."

Whether I have attributed the king's death to the

[a] Whitlock, p. 359. [b] Parliamentary History, vol. XVIII p. 471. [c] Not more than fifty-three in number. [d] Parliamentary History, vol. XVIII. p. 550.

ed, and executed, by an authority unknown

proper persons, will be best known from the following citations.

1. Mr. Ludlow says, "Some of our commissioners, who had been with the king [at Newport], pleaded in the house for a concurrence with him, as if they had been employed by him; though others, with more ingenuity, acknowledged that they would not advise an agreement upon those terms, were it not to prevent a greater evil, that was like to ensue upon the refusal of them. But Sir Henry Vane so truly stated the matter of fact relating to the treaty, and so evidently discovered the design and deceit of the king's answer, that he made it clear to us [the army-party], that by it the justice of our cause was not asserted, nor our rights secured for the future; concluding, that if they should accept of these terms without the concurrence of the army, it would prove but a feather in their caps: notwithstanding which, the corrupt party in the house having bargained for their own and the nation's liberty, resolved to break through all hazards and inconveniencies to make good their contract; and after twenty-four hours debate, resolved, by the plurality of votes, That the king's concessions were ground for a future settlement. At which some of us expressing our dissatisfaction, desired that our protestation might be entred; but that being denied, as against the orders of the house, I contented myself to declare publicly, that being convinced that they had deserted the common cause and interest of the nation, I could no longer join with them; the rest of those who dissented also expressing themselves much to the same purpose. The day following some of the principal officers of the army came to London, with expectation that things would be brought to this issue; and consulting with some members of parliament, and others, it was con-

to this nation, and contrary to the sense

cluded, after a full and free debate, that the measures taken by the parliament were contrary to the trust reposed in them, and tending to contract the guilt of the blood that had been shed upon themselves and the nation: that it was therefore the duty of the army to endeavour to put a stop to such proceedings; having engaged in the war not simply as mercenaries, but out of judgment and conscience, being convinced that the cause in which they were engaged was just, and that the good of the people was involved in it. Being come to this resolution, three of the members of the house, and three of the officers of the army, withdrew into a private room, to consider of the best means to attain the ends of our said resolution, where we agreed that the army should be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in Westminster-hall, the Court of Requests, and the Lobby; that none might be permitted to pass into the house, but such as had continued faithful to the public interest. To this end, we went over the names of all the members one by one, giving the truest character we could of their inclinations, wherein, I presume, we were not mistaken in many.——General Ireton went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and acquainted him with the necessity of this extraordinary way of proceeding, having taken care to have the army drawn up the next morning by seven of the clock. Col. Pride commanded the guard that attended at the parliament-doors, having a list of those members who were to be excluded, preventing them from entering into the house, and securing some of the most suspected under a guard provided for that end; in which he was assisted by the lord Grey of Grooby, and others who knew the members[a]."

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 268.

of the people.—Amidst all the sufferings

2. Lord Fairfax, general of the army, writes as follows: "The treaty [of Newport] was scarce ended before the king was seized on, by the hands of the same persons that took him from Holmby: soon after followed his trial. To prepare way to this work, this agitating council did first intend to remove all out of the parliament who were like to oppose them; and carried it on with such secrecy, as I had not the least intimation of it till it was done, as some of the members of the house can witness, with whom I was at that very time upon special business, when that attempt was made by colonel Pride upon the parliament, which I protest I never had any knowledge of till it was done. The reason why it was so secretly carried, that I should have no notice of it, was because I always prevented those designs when I knew them. By this purging of the house (as they called it) the parliament was brought into such a consumptive and languishing condition, that it could never again recover that healthful constitution, which always kept the kingdom in its strength, life, and vigour. This way being made by the sword, the tryal of the king was easier for them to accomplish[a]."

3. Sir Heneage Finch, solicitor-general, at the trial of the regicides, publicly acquitted the parliament, and consequently the people represented, from all blame in this matter. Hear his words: "Whatsoever, in the year 1648, could have been done by a parliament to save the life of a king, was done in this case. They opened a way to a treaty in spight of the army; and while these sons of Zeruiah, who were too hard for them, were engaged in service in the remoter parts, they hastened the treaty as much as was possible; the

[a] Fairfax's Memorials, p. 119, 120, 121.

which Charles underwent, he seems to have

debates ripen, his majesty's concessions were voted a good ground for peace: notwithstanding the remonstrances of the army still flew about their ears, and notwithstanding the oppositions of a fearful and unbelieving party of the house of commons, whom the army had frighted into an awful and slavish dependance upon them. And when nothing else could be done for him, they were so true to the obligations they lay under, that they resolved to fall with him; and did so. For the army, who saw the treaty proceed so fast, made as great haste to break it. They seize upon the blessed person of our sacred king by force, and bring him to London; and here they force the parliament, shut out some members, imprison others; and then call this wretched little company which was left, a parliament. By this, and before they had taken upon them the boldness to dissolve the house of peers, they pass a law, and erect, forsooth! an high court of justice, as they call it[a]."——Sir Edward Turner, on the same occasion, said, "My lords, this was not a national crime: and our good and gracious sovereign hath done us that honor and right to vindicate us in foreign nations; and now he is come home in power and glory, he does continue in the same mind[b]."

The lord chief baron Bridgman, from the bench, declared it to be his opinion also, "That of 46 members which sat in the house of commons, there were but 25 or 26 men that did vote the act for the tryal of the king[c]."

4. Charles himself, on his trial, said, "he was far from charging the two houses with the proceedings of that day[d]." And,

[a] Exact and Impartial Account of the Tryal of Regicides, p. 37. 4to. Lond. 1660. [b] Id. p. 40. [c] Id. p. 67. [d] King Charles's Works, p. 197.

preserved great equanimity; and before,

5. In the preamble to the act for the attainder of several persons, guilty of the horrid murder of king Charles I. we have the following passages.—" In all humble manner shew unto your most excellent majesty, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that the horrid and execrable murther of your majesty's royal father, our late most gracious sovereign Charles the First, of ever blessed and glorious memory, hath been committed by a party of wretched men, desperately wicked, and hardened in their impiety, who having first plotted and contrived the ruin and destruction of this excellent monarchy, and, with it, of the true reformed protestant religion, which hath been so long protected by it, and flourished under it, found it necessary, in order to the carrying on of their pernicious and traitorous designs, to throw down all the bulwarks and fences of law, and to subvert the very being and constitution of parliament, that so they might at last make their way open for any further attempts upon the sacred person of his majesty himself; and that, for the more easy effecting thereof, they did first seduce some part of the then army into a compliance, and then kept the rest in subjection to them, partly for hopes of preferment, and chiefly for fear of losing their imployments and arrears, until by these, and other more odious arts and devices, they had fully strengthned themselves both in power and faction; which being done, they did declare against all manner of treaties with the person of the king, even then while a treaty by advice of both houses of parliament was in being, remonstrate against the houses of parliament for such proceedings, seize upon his royal person, while the commissioners were returned to the house of parliament with his answer; and when his concessions had been voted a ground for peace, seize

at, and after his trial, his patience, or insensibility, was very remarkable[77].

upon the house of commons, seclude and imprison some members, force out others, and there being left but a small remnant of their own creatures (not a tenth part of the whole), did seek to shelter themselves by this weak pretence, under the name and authority of a parliament: and, in that name, laboured to prosecute what was yet behind and unfinished of their long intended treason and conspiracy. To this purpose they prepared an ordinance for erecting a prodigious and unheard-of tribunal, which they called an high court of justice, for tryal of his majesty; and having easily procured it to pass in their house of commons, as it then stood moulded, ventured to send it up from thence to the peers then sitting, who totally rejected it; whereupon their rage and fury increasing, they presume to pass it alone, as an act of the commons, and in the name of the commons of England; and having gained the pretence of law, made by a power of their own making, pursue it with all possible force and cruelty; until at last, upon the 30th Jan. 1648, his sacred majesty was brought upon a scaffold, and there publickly murthered before the gates of his own royal palace[a]." Those gentlemen who talk of the execution of this prince as a national sin, would do well to consider these authorities.

[77] Amidst his sufferings he preserved great equanimity; and before, at, and after his trial, his patience, or insensibility, were very remarkable.] Sir Thomas Herbert, who constantly attended his majesty from the time that he was at Holmby to his execution at Whitehall, shall be my voucher for his equanimity and patience.

[a] Stat. anno 12mo. Car. 2. c. xxxii.

On the scaffold he is thought to have excelled himself, and to have died much

" His majesty," says Sir Thomas, " had information from private hands of the late proceedings in the house of commons—by which his majesty was apprehensive of their [the army-party's] ill intentions towards his person and government, and did believe his enemies aimed at his deposing and confinement in the Tower, or some such like place; and that they would seat his son the prince of Wales in his throne, if he would accept of it. But as to their taking away his life by tryal in any court of justice, or in the face of his people, that he could not believe, there being no such precedent, or mention in any of our histories.—Such were his majesty's imaginations, until he came to his tryal in Westminster-hall; for then he altered his opinion. Nevertheless his faith overcoming his fear, he continued his accustomed prudence and patience, so as no outward perturbation could be discerned; with christian fortitude, submitting to the good pleasure of the Almighty; sometimes sighing, but never breaking out into a passion, or uttering a reproachful or revengeful word against any that were his adversaries, saying only, 'God forgive their impiety[a].'"

And when his majesty was brought the second time before the court, in Westminster-hall, "some soldiers made a hideous cry for justice, justice; some of the officers joining with them. At which uncouth noise the king seemed somewhat abashed, but overcame it with patience.—As his majesty returned from the Hall to Cotton-house, a soldier that was upon the guard said aloud as the king passed by, 'God bless you, Sir.' The king thanked him; but an uncivil officer struck him with his cane upon the head; which his majesty

[a] Sir T. Herbert's Memoirs, p. 108.

greater than he had lived. His body, after his execution, was embalmed, laid in a

observing, said, the punishment exceeded the offence. Being come to his apartment in Cotton-house, he immediately, upon his knees, went to prayer. Afterwards he asked Mr. Herbert, if he heard that cry of the soldiers for justice? who answered, he did, and marvelled thereat. 'So did not I (said the king); for I am well assured the soldiers bear no malice to me.' The cry was no doubt given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like, were there occasion[a]." When the president Bradshaw gave judgment against him, "the king was observed to smile, and lift up his eyes to heaven, as appealing to the Divine Majesty, the most supream judge[b]. The king, at the rising of the court, was with a guard of halberdiers returned to Whitehall, in a close chair, through King-street, both sides whereof had a guard of foot-soldiers, who were silent as his majesty passed.—Nothing of the fear of death, or indignities offered, seemed a terror, or provoked him to impatience; nor uttered he a reproachful word, reflecting upon any of his judges (albeit he well knew that some of them had been his domestick servants), or against any member of the house, or officer of the army: so wonderful was his patience, though his spirit was great, and might have otherwise expressed his resentments upon several occasions. It was a true Christian fortitude to have the mastery of his passion, and submission to the will of God under such temptations[c]." I will add but one passage more. "The night before his execution, the king continued reading and praying more than two hours. The king commanded Mr. Herbert to lie by his bedside upon a pallat, where he took small rest. But nevertheless the king

[a] Sir T. Herbert's Memoirs, p. 213. [b] Id. p. 117. [c] Id. p. 118.

coffin of lead, and buried at Windsor without much funeral pomp. This prince left

for four hours, or thereabouts, slept soundly; and awaking about two hours afore day, he opened his curtain to call Mr. Herbert; there being a great cake of wax set in a silver bason, that then, as at all other times, burned all night; so that he perceived him somewhat disturbed in sleep: but calling him, bad him rise; 'for,' said his majesty, 'I will get up, having a great work to do this day.' However he would know why he was so troubled in his sleep. He replyed, 'May it please your majesty, I was dreaming.' 'I would know your dream,' said the king; which being told, his majesty said it was remarkable. 'Herbert, this is my second marriage-day: I would be as trim to-day as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus.' He then appointed what cloathes he would wear: 'Let me have a shirt on more than ordinary,' said the king, 'by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death! Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared [a]." Do not all these passages shew great patience? Do they not manifest much equanimity?—I have said in the text, that his patience or insensibility before, at, and after his trial were very remarkable. My reason for saying so, will be found in the following passages, which I leave the reader to remark on.

Burnet, speaking of the trial of Charles, says, "The king's party was without spirit: and, as many of themselves have said to me, they could never believe his death was really intended, till it was too late. They thought all was a pageantry to strike terror, and to

[a] Sir T. Herbert's Memoirs, p. 127.

six children: Charles and James, who successively mounted the throne of Great Bri-

force the king to such concessions as they had a mind to extort from him[a]."—"In a journal of Robert earl of Leicester, in his own hand-writing, remaining at Penshurst-place in Kent, it is related, that after the house of lords had laid aside the ordinance for the tryal of the king, they adjourned their house for a week. The same day from Windsor advice came there, that the king seems to be as merry as usual, and saith that he fears none. He makes the business talked on a jest; and he saith that he hath yet three games to play; the last of which gives him hopes of regaining all; and accordingly, some do still serve the king on their knees. Sir John Temple, in a letter of the 3d of January, writes, They go on resolvedly to bring the king to justice; the ordinance is now passed; the commissioners named; and though the lords refuse to join, yet without question they will go on, and have made sure of twenty persons, who are to be of the *quorum*, that will proceed to the trial, though all the rest give out. The king takes yet no notice, that I can hear, of the proceedings; gave order, very lately, for saving the seeds of some Spanish melons, which he would have set at Wimbleton. He hath a strange conceit of my lord Ormond's working for him in Ireland. He hangs still upon the trig, and by the enquiries he made after his and Inchiquin's conjunction, I see he will not be beaten off it[b]."

But to go on to the last scene of this prince's life. On the 30th of January, in the morning, before his majesty, was brought from St. James's, "the bishop of London [Juxon] read divine service in his presence, in

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 70.

[b] Collins's Peerage of England, vol. V. p. 180. 8vo. Lond. 1756.

tain; Henry duke of Gloucester, who died soon after the Restoration; Mary, mother

which the 27th of St. Matthew (the history of our Saviour's crucifixion) proved the second lesson. The king supposing it had been selected on purpose, thanked him afterwards for his seasonable choice. But the bishop modestly declining that undue thanks, told him, that it was the lesson appointed by the calendar for that day. He also then and there received of the bishop the holy sacrament, and performed all his devotions in preparation to his passion. Which ended, about ten of the clock his majesty was brought from St. James's to Whitehall by a regiment of foot—the bishop on the one hand, and colonel Thomlinson (who had the charge of him) on the other, both bare-headed. His majesty walking very fast, and bidding them go faster, added, 'That he now went before them to strive for an heavenly crown, with less sollicitude than he had often encouraged his soldiers to fight for an earthly diadem[a].'"

After this, coming on the scaffold, he made a speech (which seems much broken and confused in many places), in which he asserted his own innocency; declared himself to be a good Christian; shewed his auditors how they were out of the way, and proposed to put them in a way, "which was to give God his due, the king his due (that is, says he, my successors), and the people their due: I am as much for them as any of you."—Afterwards he said, "I desire their liberty and freedom as much as any whomsoever: but I must tell you, that their liberty and freedom consists in having of government, those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in government, Sirs; that is nothing pertaining

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 207.

of William III.; Elizabeth, who died soon after her father; and Henrietta, afterwards

to them; a subject and a sovereign are clear different things. And therefore until they do that, I mean that you put the people in that liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves. Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here: if I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge), that I am the martyr of the people[a]."——Then his majesty, at the bishop's request, made a declaration of his dying a Christian, according to the profession of the church of England; saying, he had a good cause, and a gracious God; then giving directions to the executioner, his head was, at one blow, severed from his body. "Thus," says Sir Rich. Warwick, "this saint and martyr rested from his labours, and follows the Lamb[b]."

The behaviour of Charles, in his sufferings, is greatly celebrated by Burnet.

"The king himself," says he, "shewed a calm and composed firmness, which amazed all people; and that so much the more, because it was not natural to him. It was imputed to a very extraordinary measure of supernatural assistance. Bishop Juxon did the duty of his function honestly, but with a dry coldness that could not raise the king's thoughts: so that it was owing wholly to somewhat within himself, that he went thro' so many indignities with so much true greatness, without disorder or any sort of affectation. Thus he died greater than he had lived; and shewed that which has been often observed of the whole race of the Stuarts, that they bore misfortunes better than

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 211. [b] Sir R. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 346.

duchess of Orleans.—He styled himself a Martyr, and has frequently had that title

prosperity[a]." All this seems very plausible: but as every thing has two handles, Milton ascribes his behaviour to no such extraordinary principles.—" Carolum si mortem ais [speaking to Salmasius] plane egisse vitæ respondentem assentior: si dicis piè & sanctè & secure vitam finiisse, scito aviam ejus Mariam, infamem feminam, pari in speciem pietate, sanctitate, constantiâ in pegmate, occubuisse: ne animi præsentiæ, quæ in morte quibusvis è vulgo maleficis per magna, sæpe est, nimium tribuas: sæpè desperatio aut obfirmatus animus fortitudinis quandam speciem & quasi personam induit; sæpe stupor tranquillitatis: videri se bonos, intrepidos, innocentes, interdum & sanctos pessimi quique non minùs in morte quàm in vita cupiunt; inque ipsa scelerum suorum capitali pœnâ solent ultimam simulationis suæ & fraudum, quàm possunt speciosissimè, pompam ducere; & veluti poëtæ aut histriones deterrimi, plausum in ipso exitu ambitiosissimè captare[b]." i. e. " If you say that Charles died as he lived, I agree with you: if you say that he died piously, holily, and at ease, you may remember that his grandmother Mary, an infamous woman, died on a scaffold with as much outward appearance of piety, sanctity, and constancy as he did. And lest you should ascribe too much to that presence of mind, which some common malefactors have so great a measure of at their death, many times despair, and a hardened heart, put on, as it were, a vizor of courage; and stupidity, a shew of quiet and tranquillity of mind: sometimes the worst of men desire to appear good, undaunted, innocent, and now and then religious, not

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 70. See also Whitlock, p. 375. [b] Milton's Prose Works, vol. II. p. 353.

given him by his admirers, who have also sometimes paralleled him with Jesus Christ[78]: others there are indeed who refuse

only in their life but at their death; and in suffering death for their villanies, use to act the last part of their hypocrisy and cheats with all the show imaginable; and like bad poets, or stage-players, are very ambitious of being clapped at the end of the play." The reader will please to remember, that I only here act the part of an historian, and am no ways answerable for the justness of what I cite on this occasion.

[78] He styled himself a Martyr——and has been paralleled with Jesus Christ, &c.] On the 29th of January, the day before his death, the princess Elizabeth, his daughter, was admitted to see him, to whom he said, among other things, "That he wished her not to grieve and torment herself for him; for that would be a glorious death that he should die, it being for the laws and liberties of the land, and for maintaining the true protestant religion." And again, he desired her, "not to grieve for him, for he should die a Martyr[a]."—And in his speech on the scaffold, he told the spectators that "he was the Martyr of the people," as I have already related.

And as Charles esteemed himself, so was he esteemed by many others. For we are assured, "that some took up his blood, after his execution, as the reliques of a martyr. And in some," continues my author, "hath had the same effect, by the blessing of God, which was often found in his sacred touch when living[b]."

After the Restoration, the memory of this prince was much revered, and a form of prayer, with fasting, was appointed by authority to be used yearly upon the 30th

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 206. [b] Id. p. 210.

to give him the title, or acknowledge the resemblance.

of January, being the day of the martyrdom of the blessed king Charles the First. This is still continued, as well as the style and title he thus assumed to himself, in the anniversary sermons which the return of the day of course produces.

In the text I have observed, that Charles has sometimes been paralleled with Jesus Christ. Mr. Symons, his vindicator, was the first that, according to the best of my knowledge, attempted it. This gentleman, out of his zeal for the royal cause, even during his majesty's life, published, "A true Parallel betwixt the Sufferings of our Saviour, and our Sovereign in divers Particulars;" of which, as he himself relates it, "it was affirmed, that out of his zeal to flatter the king, he had blasphemed Christ[a]."—Dr. Binks, in a sermon preached the 30th of Jan. 1701, before the lower house of convocation has the following passages:

"And first, as to the near resemblance between the parties concerned, as well the actors as the sufferers, comparing those in the text with those of the day.

"And here one would imagine, that the latter were resolved to take St. Paul's expression in the most literal sense the words will bear, and crucify to themselves the Lord afresh, and, in the nearest likeness that could be, put him to an open shame. If, with respect to the dignity of the person, to have been born king of the Jews, was what ought to have skreened our Saviour from violence, here is also one, not only born to a crown, but actually possessed of it. He was not only called king by some, and at the same time derided by others for being so called, but he was acknowledged by all to be

[a] Preface to the Parallel, printed the second time with his Vindication of King Charles.

a king: he was not just dressed up for an hour or two in purple robes, and saluted with an Hail king, but the usual ornaments of majesty were his customary apparel; his subjects owned him to be their king, and yet they brought him before a tribunal; they judged him, they condemned him; and that they might not be wanting in any thing to set him at nought, they spit upon him, and treated him with the utmost contempt. Our Saviour's declaring that his kingdom was not of this world, might look like a sort of renunciation of his temporal sovereignty, for the present desiring only to reign in the herts of men: but here was nothing of this in the case before us; here was an indisputable, unrenounced right of sovereignty, both by the laws of God and man: he was the reigning prince, and the Lord's anointed; and yet, in despight of all law, both human and divine, he was by direct force of arms, and the most daring methods of a flagrant rebellion and violence, deprived at once of his imperial crown and life. The fact of this day was such a vying with the first arch-rebel, the apostate angel Lucifer; it was such a going beyond the old serpent in his own way of insolence and pride, that it is no wonder that if he then began to raise his head, and set up for dominion in this world, when thus warmed and enlivened by a fiery zeal in some, and rage in others, to the degree of drunkenness, thirsting after and satiating themselves in royal blood; and in which respect only, heated to the degree of frenzy and madness, the plea in my text may seem to have some hold of them: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do[a]." —After this admirable parallel (which yet had the misfortune to be censured in the house of lords, as what gave just scandal and offence to all christian people), the reader will perhaps applaud the modesty of the

[a] Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. III. p. 255.

poet in the following lines, in which Charles's sufferings are bewailed.

"Where then, just Heav'n, was thy unactive hand,
Thy idle thunder, and thy ling'ring brand!
Thy adamantine shield, thy angel wings,
And the great genii of anointed kings!
Treason and fraud shall thus the stars regard!
And injur'd virtue meet this sad reward!
So sad, none like can Time's old records tell,
Though Pompey bled, and poor Darius fell.
All names but one too low—that one too high:
All parallels are wrongs, or blasphemy." TICKELL.

In this language speak the friends and admirers of this unfortunate monarch.—But all subscribe not to their opinion. A few citations from different writers will fully prove this.

"Martyrs," says Milton, "bear witness to the truth, not to themselves. If I bear witness of myself, saith Christ, my witness is not true. He who writes himself Martyr by his own inscription, is like an ill painter, who, by writing on the shapeless picture which he hath drawn, is fain to tell passengers what shape it is, which else no man could imagine: no more than how a martyrdom can belong to him, who therefore dies for his religion because it is established. Certainly if Agrippa had turned Christian, as he was once turning, and had put to death Scribes and Pharisees for observing the law of Moses, and refusing Christianity, they had died a truer martyrdom. For those laws were established by God, and Moses; these by no warrantable authors of religion, whose laws in all other best reformed churches are rejected. And if to die for an establishment of religion be martyrdom, then Romish priests executed for that, which had so many hundred years been established in this land, are no worse martyrs than he. Lastly, if to die for the testimony of his own conscience be enough to make him martyr, what heretick dying for direct blasphemy, as some have done

constantly, may not boast a martyrdom? As for the constitution or repeal of civil laws, that power lying only in the parliament, which he by the very law of his coronation was to grant them, not to debar them, nor to preserve a lesser law with the contempt and violation of a greater; it will conclude him not so much as, in a civil and metaphorical sense, to have died a martyr of our laws, but a plain transgressor of them[a]."

Mr. Watson concurs with Milton in his opinion that Charles was no martyr. Hear his words.

"I cannot," says he, "in conscience, read those prayers wherein the king is called a martyr. I believe the assertion to be false, and therefore why should I tell a lye before the God of Truth! But let us examine this point. What is a martyr? He is a witness; for so the word in the original imports. But of what? for every witness, in the Christian sense of the term, is not a martyr. Robert Stephens tells us, that they are martyrs who have died giving a testimony of divinity to Christ. But if this be true, king Charles can be no martyr; for he was put to death by those who believed in the divinity of Christ as well as he. In Scapula we read, that with Christians they are peculiarly called martyrs who have confirmed the doctrine of Christ, not only with words, but with their blood. But what right has king Charles to be numbered among these? Is it then true, that he laid down his life in vindication of the New Testament? Strange that he could contrive to do this in a country, where the authenticity thereof was not disputed. This not only is incredible, but the whole current of history is against it. What were the grounds then, for giving him this glorious title? His dying rather than give up episcopacy, is said to be the cause of it. But 'tis a question whether he did this. I think lord Clarendon has proved

[a] Iconoclastes, p. 86, 2d edit.

the contrary[a]."—The reader may easily determine this point, if he thinks it worth determining, by turning to Charles's concessions with regard to the episcopal hierarchy, in the note 75. Had the treaty of Newport taken effect, those who since have canonized him, would have been among the first to load his memory with reproaches.—But to go on with Mr. Watson. "My charity," says he in another place, "leads me so far, that I hope king Charles meant well, when he told the princess Elizabeth, that he should die a martyr, and when he repeated it afterwards on the scaffold: but this might be nothing else but a pleasing deception of the mind; and if saying that he died a martyr, made him such, then the duke of Monmouth also was the same; for he died with the same words in his mouth, which his grandfather king Charles had used before him. King Charles II. seems to have no such opinion of the matter; for when a certain lord reminded his majesty of his swearing in common discourse, the king replied, 'Your martyr swore more than ever I did;' which many have deemed a jest upon the title which his father had got[b]."

I will add one authority more against the title of Martyr, which is so often given to Charles: but it is an authority revered by many, and will be esteemed remarkable by most. It is that of the person who claims to be the grandson of this monarch, and heir to his kingdoms. We are indebted for this anecdote, as well as for many others equally curious, to the late lord Bolingbroke, who had the honour to be his minister. Speaking concerning the amendments made in the draught of a declaration, and other papers, which were to be dispersed in Great Britain by the Pretender, he has the following passage, "Since his father [James II.] passes already for a saint, and since reports

[a] Watson's Apology, p. 14. [b] Id. p. 24.

All princes in limited monarchies ought to take warning by his fate[79], against

are encouraged of miracles which they suppose to be wrought at his tomb, he might have allowed his grandfather to pass for a martyr: but he struck out of the draught these words, 'that blessed martyr who died for his people,' which were applied to king Charles the First; and would say nothing more of him, than that 'he fell a sacrifice to rebellion[a].' The friends of this house, no doubt, will look on the Chevalier, in this instance, as undutiful and ungracious; and such as are not so, will stand amazed at his wisdom!

I will conclude this note with observing, that Milton and Mr. Watson seem to have taken needless pains in proving that Charles was not a martyr for his religion: we have seen he claimed only to be a "martyr of the people."

[79] All princes in limited monarchies ought to take warning by his fate.] "The king of England is the guardian of the liberties and rights, religious and civil, of his people. This is his true character, and the only foundation of his power: and it was rightly and judiciously observed by a great minister of a neighbour nation, 'That a king of England, who will be the man of his people (that is, will be a true guardian of their rights and liberties) is a great prince; but if he will be more, he is nothing.'

"In this situation he hath all the power that a good man should take, or a wise man wish; a power to do justice, to defend right, and to repress wrong; that is, in one word, a power to make his people happy. Should a guardian angel wish for more? and should frail and fallen man be trusted or tempted with more[b]!"

[a] Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir William Wyndham, p. 281. [b] Delany's Sermons on Social Duties, p. 304. 8vo, 1744. See also Sir William Temple's Works, fol. Lond. 1731. p. 383, 384.

breaking the laws, and misusing the prerogative.

But Charles was not content to be the man of his people: he would be their master; he tyrannized over the consciences, took the liberty to enslave the bodies, and empty the purses of his subjects, without law, and contrary to law. In a word he attempted to make freemen vassals, subjects slaves.

This, as we have seen, laid his parliament under a necessity of consulting their own and the nation's safety, of raising an army, of defending themselves against the king and his evil counsellors. Their army was victorious, and like many other armies, after subduing their enemies, turned against their masters; and, contrary to their intentions, brought his majesty to the block. This in them was illegal. In them it was murder: for they had no right or authority, except that of the sword. But had Charles confined himself within the bounds of law, and exerted his prerogative only for the good of the people, all this would have been prevented. Submission would have been paid to his commands, the civil war would never have commenced, nor would he himself have fallen a sacrifice to the ambition, enthusiasm, or safety of the soldiery. So that Charles was properly the original cause of all his own misfortunes: and his death may be considered as "a monument of terror, set up to the princes of a free people to guard them against the least approaches or attempts to tyranny: to teach them that no personal merit, no excellence of nature, no acquired accomplishments, no combination of virtues, can give quiet to their reign, or stability to their throne, independent of the affections of their people[a]."

The following passage of Mr. Locke is worthy the

[a] Delany's Sermons, p. 310.

attention of princes, as well as of the advocates of Charles, who allege the example and practice of his predecessors as an extenuation, if not as a justification of his illegal rule.—"He that will look," says that great man, "into the history of England, will find that prerogative was always largest in the hands of our wisest and best princes; because the people, observing the whole tendency of their actions to be the publick good, contested not what was done without law to that end; or if any human frailty or mistake (for princes are but men, made as others) appeared in some small declinations from that end, yet 'twas visible the main of their conduct tended to nothing but the care of the publick. The people therefore, finding reason to be satisfied with these princes, whenever they acted without or contrary to the letter of the law, acquiesced in what they did, and, without the least complaint, let them enlarge their prerogative as they pleased; judging rightly, that they did nothing herein to the prejudice of their laws, since they acted conformable to the foundation and end of all laws, the publick good. Such god-like princes, indeed, had some title to arbitrary power, by that argument that would prove absolute monarchy the best government, as that which God himself governs the universe by; because such kings partake of his wisdom and goodness. Upon this is founded that saying, that the reigns of good princes have been always most dangerous to the liberties of their people. For when their successors, managing the government with different thoughts, would draw the actions of those good rulers into precedent, and make them the standard of their prerogative, as if what had been done only for the good of the people, was a right in them to do for the harm of the people, if they so pleased; it has often occasioned contest, and sometimes publick disorders, before the people could recover their original right, and get that to be declared not to be

prerogative, which truly was never so: since it is impossible that any body in the society should ever have a right to do the people harm; though it be very possible, and reasonable, that the people should not go about to set any bounds to the prerogative of those kings or rulers, who themselves transgressed not the bounds of the publick good. For the prerogative is nothing but the power of doing publick good without a rule[a]." The prince who will bear this maxim in mind, and regulate his conduct by it, needs not fear the fate of Charles. His subjects will feel the blessings of his government, and cheerfully submit to his wholesome rule. Whereas he who imitates this unfortunate prince, whose life and actions have now been opened, will probably, like him, feel woes innumerable.

[a] Locke on Government, p. 254.

APPENDIX.

SINCE these papers were in the press, there has been published a long-expected work, intitled, "Memoirs and Letters of the Marquis of Clanricarde and Earl of St. Alban's[a]." It begins in October 1641, and continues down to the 30th of August, 1643; after which nothing occurs till the proceedings in the treaty between the duke of Lorrain's ambassador and his lordship. These commence Feb. 27, 1650, and end in August 1652.

I have taken the trouble, few readers will, to read it through, though I am far from repenting it: for the marquis was a man of sense and honour, and zealous for the service of his master, Charles; who appears not either advantageously or disadvantageously in this volume, unless it be in the affair of the cessation with the Irish, which he ordered Ormonde to carry on with the greatest secrecy. "There is a power come to Ormonde, (says Mr. Justice Donallen, in a letter to Clanricarde, received May 11, 1643) to conclude a cessation for a year here. The king would have it carried with secrecy: I and one more only are made acquainted with it[b]." And in another letter, received at the same time, the same gentleman tells his lordship, "There is a second letter come to Ormonde from the king, to hasten the cessation I spoke of."—One passage more, concerning Charles, there is in a letter from the marquis of Ormonde to the earl of Clanricarde, dated Feb. 4, 1642. "The king is very strong," says Ormonde, "and increases daily: the only fear is, he may meet with such counsellors as will sacrifice his affairs to their own ends and safety[c]."

[a] Folio. Lond. 1757. [b] Pag. 399. [c] Pag. 339.

The following accounts of the Irish rebellion, as his lordship was a confirmed catholic, will not perhaps be unacceptable to the curious.——"Upon the 27th of November 1641, I went from Tuam to Shreull, a fair strong castle of my own in the county of Mayo, but divided from the county by the river, upon the which is a fair stone bridge, made since most infamous by the horrid and bloody murder of about one hundred English and Scots, most of them massacred by their own convoys, before they could attain into this county over the bridge. Out of this inhuman massacre very strangely escaped Maxwell, lord bishop of Killala, and his wife and children[a].

"Jan.—I repaired to Loughreah. There I received constant intelligence of the general defection of the whole kingdom, and of the particular malice against me for my opposition against their proceedings; the disorders, spoils, and robberies increasing in the county itself, and underhand receiving countenance and encouragement from those whom I had entrusted for preserving the peace, quiet, and obedience of the country[b]."

And in a letter to lord Essex, dated May 22, 1642, he says, "The barbarous murthers that have been committed there [in Ireland], are not to be thought of but with horror[c]."

After this, no one, I presume, will pretend to doubt of the reality and barbarity of the Irish rebellion.

[a] Folio. Lond. 1757. Pag. 21. [b] Pag. 65. [c] Pag. 149.

END OF VOL. II.

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